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Teaching OF HISTORY



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Teaching OF HISTORY

In Elementary and Secondary Schools
With Applications to Allied Studies

BY HENRY JOHNSON, LL.D.
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in Teachers College, Columbia University

REVISED EDITION

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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

IN beginning his illuminating treatment of the Holy Roman Empire, Lord Bryce wrote: "In history there is nothing isolated, and just as to explain a modern act of Parliament, or a modern conveyance of lands, we must go back to the feudal customs of the thirteenth century, so among the institutions of the Middle Ages there is scarcely one which can be understood until it is traced up either to classical or to primitive Teutonic antiquity."

This is the first principle for the teacher of history to enforce, as it is the first lesson for the student of history to learn. History offers a third dimension to the superficial area of knowledge that each individual acquires through his own experience. When one boasts that he is not bound by any trammels of the past, he proclaims his own folly, and would, if he could, reduce himself to the intellectual level of the lower animals. He can only mean by such a phrase that he proposes to set out to discover and to explain the world of nature and of man as if nothing had been done before, and as if he were certainly competent for his mighty and self-imposed task. The wise man, on the contrary, will search the records of the past for their lessons, in order that he may be spared from trying to do again what has been once proved useless, wasteful, or wrong. He will watch the rise and fall of peoples; the struggle of human ambition, greed and thirst for power; the loves and hates of men and women as these have affected the march of events; the migration of peoples; the birth, development, and application of ideas; the records of human achievement in letters, in the arts, and in science; the speculations and the beliefs of men as to what lies beyond the horizon of sense, with a view to seeking a firm foundation for the fabric of his own knowledge and of his own belief.

One of the wisest and most successful teachers of history that ever lived in America, Professor Francis Lieber of Columbia College, used a method peculiarly his own, and achieved exceptional results by so doing. In his college classes he assigned as the task for each exercise a definite number of pages in a popular manual of the history of Europe that was translated from the German. This manual was nothing more than a compact and desiccated collection of facts, including dates, names, and important events. Each pupil was required to master the contents of the assigned number of pages. When the class met, the teacher required a selected pupil, in the presence of his classmates, to write upon the blackboard a summary of the events that happened in Great Britain, for example, during the period under examination. By a system of cross-questioning the aid of the entire class was had in securing the correctness of this summary. Then another pupil would be summoned to do the same thing for France, another for Germany, another for Italy, and so on until all the material included in the assigned portion of the textbook had been covered. Then the teacher, turning with a triumphant look to his class, was in the habit of saying: "Now you know what was happening in each of the great countries of Europe at a specified time. But why were those things happening? You do not know. You will not find out from your textbook, but I will tell you." Then the eloquent and learned scholar poured forth a wealth of illuminating philosophical explanation that made the carefully memorized facts forever real in the minds of his fortunate pupils. There is no better way to study or to teach history than that. The fundamental data, the dates, the names, the bare events, must be learned by the pupil, and having been learned they must be interpreted. Interpretation is the task of the teacher.

For more than a generation past there has been a strong and steadily growing tendency to interpret the facts of history as the successive sequences in a chain of economic causation. It has been stoutly held and taught that the actions of men and of nations are to be explained as the effects of purely economic causes. To accept this, however, as occupying anything more

than a subordinate and a secondary place in the study of history, is to close one's eyes to the most obvious facts of human experience. No small part of the life of individuals and of nations is devoted to courses of action and to policies which are in direct conflict with men's obvious economic interests, but which are pursued because of belief in some principle, because of adherence to some ideal, because of faith in something unseen and eternal. The scholarly and the true interpretation of history is to view it as the record of the social, the moral, and the intellectual education of man, with economic forces and laws playing a constant but a secondary part.

It has become fashionable to decry chronology and to treat as unimportant a knowledge of the dates at which large events took place. But this tendency is one to be vigorously resisted. Chronology lies at the basis of history and furnishes it with a framework. Not to know the significance of dates such as 490 B.C., 732 A.D., 1066, 1453, 1492, 1649, 1789, 1815, and 1914, is to miss the clue to the power to group events in their natural order and in their causal sequence.

He will be a fortunate student, too, who is guided by a study of history through the gates that lead to literature. Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay, von Ranke and Mommsen, Laurent and Martin, are not only historians but men of letters. They reveal to the student of history the play upon the records of the past of high intellectual power, working with the instruments of the fine art of expression. The teacher of history who awakens in his pupils a love of the literature of history and a love of the literature that constitutes so large a part of the subject-matter of history, will not have taught in vain.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

May 18, 1915

I see no reason to change any word of what was written as Introduction to this volume a quarter-century ago. The importance of a clear understanding of what history means and of

the necessity of learning to interpret it in order to understand the happenings of today have grown by leaps and bounds. In fact, history, and particularly the philosophy of history, is the one great dominating subject to which the intellectual leaders of the world must turn for guidance and for inspiration.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

October 1940

PREFACE

The Teaching of History, as published twenty-five years ago, is still finding purchasers, and reports from the field seem to indicate that it is still somewhat widely in use. Further evidence of continued interest has been furnished by numerous requests to bring the work down to date, and upon those requests is placed responsibility for the appearance of the present volume.

Extension to the present has involved considerable change in organization and an entire rewriting of much of the old work. Two new chapters, "Teaching Chronology" and "The Treatment of Current Events," have been added. In deference to the wishes of teachers, more class exercises designed to illustrate the application of principles have been introduced. Like the exercises in the old volume, they have in every case been personally tested under average school conditions.

The historical survey of history teaching in Europe and the United States has been reorganized. The conditions on the two sides of the Atlantic are now brought together instead of being treated in separate chapters. One chapter deals with conditions before 1890; another chapter deals with conditions after 1890, with due recognition of the social studies movement. The general historical survey continues to be supplemented by the historical treatment of special topics. In every chapter there are allusions to historical background. The author has endeavored to learn something about the teaching of history and other social sciences outside of Europe and the United States but has used this material only in generalizing about the world as a whole.

The author has reexamined much of the material used in the first edition, and has read in the voluminous literature of the last twenty-five years what he believes to be representative books and articles in English, French, German, and the Scandinavian

languages. He has also been assisted to some acquaintance with a few special works available only in other languages. He has, however, at all times been fully conscious of the limitations of the sampling process and of the dangers of compression within the limits imposed by the present volume, and ventures only to trust that enough of the past has been revealed to furnish some indication of what is historically progressive and what is historically reactionary in present theories and practices.

The greater part of the work is still devoted to underlying principles and their application to conditions of teaching in the United States. These principles are more fully illustrated than in the old edition. One principle constantly and consistently emphasized is that any instruction in the social sciences is intelligible only to the extent to which it is brought within the direct experience of pupils. This principle may be taken as a mere platitude of common sense either too obvious to require statement or too vague to be useful. If the principle is obvious, it seems clear from the criticism of materials and methods as "above the heads of children," still so common, that somewhere along the line from sponsors of the materials and methods to teachers, somebody has either forgotten the principle or lacked the skill to apply it. It is even possible that failure to apply the principle has something to do with the number of pupils classified as dull. The materials used in the present volume to illustrate applications of the principle may be far from those required by the type of course which a teacher is called upon to follow, but the methods of using the direct experience of pupils are, it is believed, applicable to any material within the field of the social studies.

The general bibliography at the end of the volume is in large part a guide to fuller bibliographies. Titles listed in standard and easily accessible works, such as *A Guide to Historical Literature*, published by The Macmillan Company, are, therefore, not repeated, except in chapter references, but are supplemented by selected titles not included in such works. The general bibliography is followed by chapter references which include some titles not listed elsewhere. The arrangement of the items is, for the most part, chronological, so that a reader disposed to follow the

literature may meet discoveries and rediscoveries in the order in which they appeared. Both in the general bibliography and in the chapter references the aim has been, through as few titles as possible, to give fair representation to all the different points of view which the literature reveals. A listing of all the titles which have come to the attention of the author would fill several hundred of these pages.

The author is deeply indebted to A. C. Krey for suggestions covering the entire revision. Many of these suggestions have been adopted, and all of them would have been adopted had competence permitted. The author is equally indebted to Erling M. Hunt for reading the entire manuscript and returning comments which have resulted in important changes in the text. Deep acknowledgment is due to Lucy V. Goodwine for sharing with the author her wide knowledge of the bibliography of the field and for other very valuable assistance, and to Harriet H. Shoen for the use of her extensive materials on examinations.

Permission to quote at some length from their publications has generously been granted by The Macmillan Company; Charles Scribner's Sons; the Oxford University Press; the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University; *Social Education*; and the National Council for the Social Studies. To all of these the author is deeply grateful. For briefer quotations the author is under obligation to many publishers and trusts that his citations will in all cases prove satisfactory.

HENRY JOHNSON

NEW YORK CITY
October, 1940

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. WHAT HISTORY IS	I
II. HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM BEFORE 1890	25
III. HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AFTER 1890	53
IV. THE PROBLEM OF GRADING HISTORY	86
V. THE QUESTION OF AIMS AND VALUES	105
VI. THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY	130
VII. THE STUDY OF SOCIAL GROUPS	145
VIII. MAKING THE PAST REAL	163
IX. THE USE OF MODELS AND PICTURES	182
X. TEACHING CHRONOLOGY	203
XI. THE USE OF MAPS	220
XII. TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY	241
XIII. THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY AND OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES	257
XIV. THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL READING	281
XV. SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD	297
XVI. THE TREATMENT OF CURRENT EVENTS	323
XVII. CORRELATION, FUSION, AND INTEGRATION	346
XVIII. THE EXAMINATION	362
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 391
 INDEX	 461

Teaching OF HISTORY

CHAPTER I

WHAT HISTORY IS

HISTORY, in its broadest sense, is everything that ever happened. It is the past itself, whatever that may be. But the past cannot be observed directly. What is known about it must be learned from such traces of former conditions and events as time and chance and the foresight of man may have preserved. Our practical concern in forming a conception of history is, therefore, with these traces, the methods employed in studying them, and the results of the study. Traces of past facts of any kind may be regarded as possible material. We speak of a history of plants, of animals, and even of inanimate nature. But history in the usual acceptation of the term means the history of man. The materials to be studied are the traces left by his existence in the world, his thoughts, feelings, and actions.

The traces left by the human past are the historian's *sources*. They are found in forms so various that exhaustive classification is difficult and complete enumeration impossible. In some sense, everything that man now is or has is a trace left by the past — present personal memories, present mental habits, present ideals, present social customs and institutions, language, literature, material products of human industry, physical man himself, and the physical remains of men.

Sources have been classified as *traditions* and *remains*. Traditions are sources that bear evidence of conscious intent to transmit information. They are of three kinds: (1) oral traditions; (2) written or printed traditions; (3) pictorial traditions, including maps and diagrams. Remains are unconscious relics or survivals in language, in literary or other artistic expression, in industrial products, in laws and customs. The distinction thus indicated is for some purposes important. It is, however, not one that can be applied in any absolute way. Some sources may be regarded

either as conscious or unconscious testimony, that is, either as traditions or remains, according to the point of view from which they are considered. A newspaper, for example, contains conscious representations of conditions and events; it is at the same time not only a direct material remain, but, even as a report, an unconscious reflection of the tastes, the interests, the desires, and the spirit of its day. Not all remains are traditions, but all traditions are, from one point of view, remains.

Sources have been further distinguished as *primary* and *derived*. Primary sources, called also *original sources*, and sometimes simply *sources*, are either direct material remains, or the direct impression or expression, in some form, of the age to which they relate. They may be roads, bridges, buildings, monuments, coins, tools, clothing, human remains. They may be personal memories of facts actually observed, reports made by actual observers, actual texts of laws, decrees, orders, charters, constitutions, judicial decisions, treaties, official instructions, business documents. Derived sources may be *secondary*, that is, representations based directly upon primary sources; they may be *tertiary*, that is, representations based directly upon secondary sources; they may be representations based upon other representations to the *n*th degree. But here again the classification is not one that can be applied in any absolute way. In the first place, many sources are of a mixed character, partly primary and partly derived. Comparatively few observers confine their reports to what they themselves have directly observed. Statements based upon their own observation are mingled with statements based upon the reports of others. Similarly derived sources may be in part secondary, in part tertiary, in part of the *n*th degree. In the second place, the same source may for one purpose be primary and for another purpose derived. John Fiske's account of what happened at Lexington, April 19, 1775, is a primary source for determining John Fiske's conception of the events at Lexington; it is a derived source for obtaining information about the events themselves.

The mass of existing sources is in the aggregate enormous. No single mortal mind can hope to explore them all. Yet most facts in passing leave no durable trace. This is true of the twentieth

century with all its marvelous agencies for discovering and recording itself. It is obviously true in a higher degree of earlier centuries. The farther back we go, the greater in general the proportion of loss. The remoter past is thus left exceedingly obscure. Fragments of human skeletons and objects of human workmanship are found in such positions in the earth and in such relations to other remains as to suggest a great antiquity for man. Differences in workmanship and in the kinds of material used suggest certain broad stages of development. But little more of the earlier progress of man is indicated. Traces of particular events have not survived. No one knows, for example, how or when or where men invented the bow and arrow, how or when or where they first learned to make fire and to apply it in their arts, how or when or where they first tamed the dog and cow. For the transmission of information of this character, traditions of some kind are indispensable. Without them so little can, on the whole, be known that the entire period for which they no longer exist is commonly described as "prehistoric." The duration of this period is uncertain. Current estimates of it reach tens and even hundreds of thousands of years. In any case, what is called the "historic period," the period, that is, beginning with recorded traditions, is in comparison relatively brief. The oldest traditions can scarcely be dated back more than six or seven thousand years; the beginnings of any considerable accumulation of them can scarcely be dated back more than three thousand years, and even here the course of life is, in the main, indicated vaguely and in a disconnected way. The conditions are not of course uniform for all peoples and countries. The beginnings of the historic period in Egypt lie far back of the beginnings in Greece; the beginnings of the historic period in Greece lie far back of the beginnings in England; the beginnings of the historic period in England lie far back of the beginnings in America. In any case, however, it is scarcely until we approach the thirteenth century of the Christian era that traditions become relatively full, relatively definite, and relatively continuous. The distinction between prehistoric and historic is, therefore, somewhat misleading. There is no sudden nor general dissipation of darkness in passing from one to the

other. The historic period is for most countries in places quite as obscure as the prehistoric period. Nor is there evidence of any sudden or general advance in the conditions of human life to mark the transition and justify the distinction. The most that can be said is that the sources, always fragmentary, are more so for some periods than for others, that most of the sources now extant relate to comparatively recent times, and that the oldest sources consist exclusively of unconscious material remains.

The method employed in studying sources is the historical method. It embraces two kinds of operations, *criticism* and *synthesis*. Criticism seeks, in the first place, to determine the specific character of a source. Is the source what it purports to be or is represented to be? Is it an original or a copy or reconstruction? If an original, has it been altered in the course of transmission? If a copy or reconstruction, does it reproduce with accuracy the original? Questions such as these belong to the domain of *external criticism*. Illustrations of the need of asking them are not far to seek. One has but to visit shops where "antiques" are offered for sale, or follow the interesting discoveries of "new historical material" reported from time to time in the newspapers. An American professor of history purchased in Holland and brought to the United States some antique furniture which, when repairs were called for, revealed the legend: "Made in Grand Rapids, Michigan." A wax bust attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, and as such purchased by a museum in Berlin, was found to be the work of a modern Englishman. A letter credited to Grover Cleveland, and published as his after his death, was repudiated by his executors. A facsimile of a colonial newspaper designed to throw new light on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence was shown to be fraudulent.

It is the province of external criticism to clear the field of spurious sources and to determine the origin and original form of sources accepted as genuine. In the case of written or printed documents, the aim is to produce a "pure text," with indications as to authorship and time, place, and circumstances of composition. This is often a complicated matter. In a multitude of cases the originals of documents have been lost and only copies have

come down to us, many of them made, not from originals, but from other copies. There is internal evidence that the scribes, even when capable and conscientious, were at best fallible, and that often they were neither capable nor conscientious. Petrarch in his day found them so incompetent that he declared the task of writing a book easier than that of getting one properly copied. "Such," he says, "is the ignorance, laziness, or arrogance, of these fellows that, strange as it may seem, they do not reproduce what you give them but write out something quite different."¹ With the introduction of printing, conditions were vastly improved, but the occasion for criticism like Petrarch's did not entirely pass away. Cotton Mather, reading his *Magnalia* fresh from the press, was moved to add to his catalogue of impossibilities a "book printed without erratas." Recalling other offenses of compositors, he went so far as to accuse them of having put into the Psalms in one edition of the Bible the statement, "Printers have persecuted me."² Such formal documents as wills, laws, charters, and constitutions are naturally drawn with care, and when there is occasion for reproducing them, whether in manuscript or print, they are likely to be reproduced with care. But the production of perfect copy, even in cases that put no special strain upon the intelligence, demands a degree of sustained attention difficult to attain. Witness the record of unsuccessful attempts to print the exact text of the Constitution of the United States.³

The labors of a long line of able and devoted scholars have been given to external criticism. Numerous fraudulent sources have been exposed. Multitudes of "pure texts" have been published. Many old monuments and buildings have been restored. Many more, like those of the Athenian Acropolis and the Roman Forum, have been reconstructed in models or drawings or pictures. Photography and the mechanical processes dependent upon it have in our day made possible a new kind of exact copy. They have also, it must be added, made possible a new kind of fraud.

External criticism seeks to ascertain when, where, and by whom

¹ Robinson, J. H., and Rolfe, H. W., *Petrarch*, New York, 1899, p. 28.

² *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Edition of 1853, pp. xxxv, xxxvii.

³ See *American History Leaflet*, No. 8, p. 2.

a source was produced and to determine precisely its original form. The next step is to determine the meaning of the source, and here the work of *internal* or *higher criticism* begins. The question of meaning, it is true, enters also into external criticism, but only as an aid in establishing the character of the source. Internal criticism seeks the meaning as an end in itself. The ideal is to put ourselves in the place of the producer of the source, to reconstruct the mental states through which the painter passed in painting the picture, the sculptor in carving the statue, the author in writing the document. The procedure in approximating this ideal, at least in the case of the written or printed document, ought to be fairly familiar, for a very large part of the educational process consists of finding answers to the question, "What does the author mean?" Often there are difficulties. A writer may not have expressed himself with exactness. In any event, language is at best somewhat elusive. The same words may mean different things to different persons. Even legislators and makers of constitutions, who, of all men, ought to define their intentions with exactness, sometimes find their most painstaking efforts defeated by the equally painstaking efforts of the judges who are called upon to interpret the results. As students of history, it is not enough for us to say what an author's words mean to us now. We must find out, if we can, what the words meant to the author when he wrote them. Did the words which he used have in his day the meaning which we attribute to them today? Attention to this question has in some cases revolutionized long-established opinions concerning the past. Was the author using words in their literal sense or in a figurative sense? Was he writing seriously or indulging in humorous exaggeration? Such questions often puzzle the student. It must not, however, be supposed that all written or printed sources present difficulties so great as to require extraordinary effort to unravel their meaning. Many of them, for most uses, require for their interpretation only such effort as a casual reader would put forth.

For some purposes, to establish the character of a source and its meaning is sufficient. What is desired may be acquaintance with the conceptions which men have held in the past, their ways of

looking at the world or the universe. It is information of this kind that makes up the substance of histories of art, of literature, of mythology, of philosophy, of science, of religious dogma, of law. But, for other purposes, to understand what an author said is only a beginning. Did he believe what he said? Was he in a position to know? Was he an accurate observer? Did he have the ability and the desire to represent accurately what he saw or heard or read?

Human observation, memory, and inference are fallible. Even our own experiences of yesterday may emerge faded and distorted from the accounts which we strive to give of them today. Trained reporters, writing in the very midst of events, often differ widely in their versions of the simplest and most obvious of details. Even trained historians may differ in their versions of simple and obvious details. A professional historian who visited Australia in 1885, describing his first view of Adelaide, wrote: "We rose slightly from the sea, and at the end of seven miles we saw below us in a basin with the river winding through it, a city of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, not one of whom has ever known, or will know, a moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day."¹ A professional critic of historians, quoting the passage somewhat inaccurately, adds the following comment: "Adelaide is on high ground, not in a valley; there is no river running through it; its population was not more than 75,000; and at the very moment when Mr. Froude visited it, a large portion of the population was on the verge of starvation."² Another professional critic, translating somewhat freely into French both the quotation and the comment, ends with actual famine in Adelaide.³ Those who selected the site for the city thought apparently that they saw a river. "Adelaide," says a letter written in 1837, "is to be on the bank of a beautiful stream."⁴ A standard historian of South Australia describes the site as comprising "a southern and northern elevation with a

¹ Froude, J. A., *Oceana*, London, 1886, p. 86.

² *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1894, p. 815.

³ Langlois et Seignobos, *Introduction aux Études Historiques*, Paris, 1905, p. 101. "Elle souffrait d'une famine."

⁴ Hodder, Edwin, *History of South Australia*, London, 1893, 2 Volumes, I, 63.

small valley and river between them," and standard reference works of today place Adelaide on the banks of the river Torrens. Doubtless citizens of Adelaide have had some anxiety as to their three meals a day. The year after Froude's visit "began with great depression. There was drought throughout the country." But "verge of starvation" and "famine" seem to have evaded the recorder.¹ Gazetteers of the eighties, it should be added, made the population of the city proper about 38,000.

Much of the material with which historians have to deal is the work neither of trained reporters nor of trained historians. Much of it consists of reports made long after events with memory grown dim and subject to distortion through changes in point of view and in interest wrought by years. Much of it consists of reports made not by actual observers, but by those who have heard or read the reports of others. Much of it is mere oral tradition the original content of which may have disappeared altogether in the course of transmission. It is perhaps not strange, therefore, that some thinkers have despaired of knowing the past at all and have come to look upon history as little more than a collection of fables which men have agreed to believe. But, in spite of all difficulties, the principles and rules of internal criticism have been so clearly defined and have been so skillfully applied by thousands of investigators that the line between the true and the false, or at least between the probable and the improbable, can, for an enormous mass of material, be drawn with assurance.

Historical criticism lays the foundation for a rational belief that this or that particular event actually happened, that this or that particular condition actually existed. It yields those pieces of information which are ordinarily described as "the facts of history." The way is thus prepared for synthesis, for the process, that is, of constructing from the facts a body of related knowledge. This implies selection of facts, grouping, generalization, organization. The product, conceived either as a body of knowledge or as an account or narrative in which that body of knowledge is set forth, is history in the sense usually attached to the term by makers of definitions of history.

¹ Hodder, Edwin, *History of South Australia*, London, 1893, 2 Volumes, II, 108.

Facts may be selected because they are interesting or curious or memorable. They may be arranged in simple chronological order according to place of occurrence. They may be grouped for aesthetic effect. Generalization may be confined to such speculations or reflections on events and their causes as happen to occur to the writer. The aim may be to perpetuate the fame of striking personalities and striking events; it may be merely to make a good story. Constructions of this kind are commonly based upon imperfect criticism, sometimes upon no criticism at all. They represent the simple narrative or story-telling conception of history.

Again, facts may be selected because they are useful in business, in politics, in religion, in education. The search may be for precedents to enlighten statesmen, generals, and others; for arguments to support a cause or a theory; for ethical ideals to inspire the world in general. The facts, as in story-telling history, may be arranged either according to time and place of occurrence, or with such modifications of this grouping as promise to heighten aesthetic effect. Generalization may involve careful induction and may rise to the dignity of philosophical explanation. It may amount to little more than offhand moralizing designed to make "the lessons of history" as impressive as possible. Constructions of this kind represent the didactic conception of history. They may be based upon careful historical criticism, for, in the opinion of many, "the lessons of history" to be really useful must also be really true. But didactic history may be as innocent of criticism as any mere story-telling history.

Finally, facts may be selected because they are important or significant as illustrations or explanations of what the past was, of how it came to be what it was, of how the present grew out of it. The ruling idea may be that of development — the development of an individual, of a nation, of religion, of education; the development of cookery, of dressmaking, of toys; the development of civilization in general, so far as that development can be traced. From the point of view of development, nothing ever *was* or *is*; everything *was* or *is* in a state of becoming. Every event in its becoming is unique: it happens once, it can never happen again.

Every condition in its becoming is unique: it occurs once, it can never occur again. Everything always was and is in a state of becoming something different. The study of history is at bottom a study of differences. Without differences there could be no history. Differences imply change, and change is the fundamental fact in history. But in all change there is continuity. Everything has antecedents and consequences. One thing always grows out of an earlier thing and leads to a next thing. It is this process that is called development. The term must not be confused with progress. Development is simply change. It may, by any given standards, be change for the better; it may be change for the worse. In either case it is development. In either case there are no breaks in the process. In our books or in our heads, a prehistoric period may stop to become ancient history, ancient history may stop to become medieval history, medieval history may stop to become modern history, modern history may stop to become contemporary history. The history that actually happens unhaltingly rolls on without periods or eras or epochs or chapters or units. All is continuous movement, the beginning of which no mortal may know and the end of which no mortal may foretell; so far as we can see, never beginning and never ending but just going on, the present always different from the past but so bound to the past that no new order of things can break the bond and leap into wholly unprecedented becoming. In relation to this process, the facts of importance are those that seem best to represent and to explain the process itself. Here criticism assumes its full function, for the aim of this kind of construction is first and fundamentally to be true. It represents the scientific conception of history.

For the name "history" as applied to any organized account of past conditions and events, the world is indebted to Herodotus. The Greek original of the word meant inquiry or learning by inquiry, hence, the knowledge so obtained, information on any subject. Traveling over a large part of the world known to the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., Herodotus "inquired" wherever he went about things that seemed to him interesting or memorable, and received a vast amount of information relating to the

past and present of the places which he visited. This was his *Inquiry*. But the narrative which he composed for the "showing forth" of his "inquiry" so impressed the Greeks that in the next century *historie* or *historia* began to mean specifically the sort of thing which Herodotus had written, a narrative, that is, of past events. With this restricted meaning, the term passed into the Latin *historia* and on into the modern languages of Europe and America. In the relation of this restricted meaning to the work of Herodotus, even though he was not the first to write what is now called "history," there is still a reason for calling him the "Father of History."

Herodotus was a real investigator, a conscious and constant seeker after truth, which, however, he is careful to warn the reader, is not always attainable. But he was above all a story-teller, an artist in prose, and his work, like many a less critical history, was made up of things that seemed to him interesting and likely to appeal to his public. What he wrote was story-telling history and in this field he remains a master and model.

Severer standards of criticism and a different purpose appeared in the work of Thucydides, contemporary historian of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides began to write when the war itself began, and continued his record down to 411 B.C. He aimed at something more than merely to preserve in pleasing form what was memorable, and even considered it "very likely" that his narrative would prove "disappointing to the ear." "But if," he added, "he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied."¹ His aim was thus distinctly didactic. He hoped that his work would teach political lessons, not because they were presented as such, but because "a true picture" of political conditions and events would of itself convey political lessons. What he wrote was didactic history, and in this field he remains a master and model.

When Thucydides began to write, Herodotus was still at work

¹ Jowett's Translation, Book I, 22.

and between them they seemed to exhaust the possibilities of historical construction. The particular forms which later histories assumed, the particular kinds of facts which they celebrated, the particular kinds of lessons or precedents which they sought to impress varied with the special interests and purposes of historians. But for about twenty-two hundred years, history remained essentially either story-telling history or didactic history. It was not until the nineteenth century that history of the scientific type came clearly into view.

The scientific quality attributed to history came from applying to historical research and construction a method assumed to be the method of the natural sciences. What this implied received its classic expression in 1824 in the preface to the first historical venture of Leopold von Ranke, then a young teacher in a German secondary school. Disclaiming any intention to judge the past or to use it for the instruction of the present, Ranke announced that he merely wanted to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, to show, that is, what had actually occurred.¹ In this spirit, nineteenth century historians reconstructed so much of the history which earlier historians had written, extended so vastly the boundaries of historical knowledge, and changed so radically the general conception of the past, that the nineteenth century came to be called "the century of history," as if, among all the achievements of that wonderful century, the crowning achievement had been the creation of a new history.

The creation did not pass unchallenged. In the full glare of the nineteenth century there were critics who pronounced the work of Thucydides the greatest of all histories. There were critics who pronounced Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published 1776-1780, the greatest of all histories. There were critics who denied the validity of the scientific conception of history and denounced attempts to apply it as destructive of the moral force in history. There were critics who urged that history had always been, and must remain, a branch of literature. Story-telling historians continued to flourish, and didactic historians, inspired by

¹ Ranke, Leopold von, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker*, Leipzig, 1824, Preface: *Er will bloss zeigen wie es eigentlich gewesen*.

the great social and political movements of the century, flourished even more.¹

A challenge of a different kind came from H. T. Buckle in his *History of Civilization in England*, the first volume of which appeared in 1857. By this time some of the greatest historical works of the century had already been produced, Ranke had taken his place as the greatest historian of the century, and *wie es eigentlich gewesen* had become the most famous words ever written about history. Buckle was not impressed. He praised the zeal of historians and conceded the "immense value of that vast body of facts which we now possess, and by the aid of which the progress of mankind is to be investigated," but the use that had been made of the facts presented to his mind "a very different picture." "The unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man," he wrote, "is, that although its separate parts have been examined with considerable ability, hardly any one has attempted to combine them into a whole, and ascertain the way in which they are connected with each other. In all the other great fields of inquiry, the necessity of generalization is universally admitted, and noble efforts are being made to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. So far, however, is this from being the usual course of historians, that among them a strange idea prevails, that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful. According to this scheme, any author who from indolence of thought, or from natural incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to be an historian; he is able to write the history of a great people, and his work becomes an authority on the subject which it professes to treat."²

The characterization was in a measure true. Historians *had* either neglected the opportunity, or failed in the effort, "to rise from particular facts" to "the laws by which those facts are gov-

¹ Cf. Gooch, G. P., *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1913, pp. 101-112.

² Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization in England*, Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1903-1904, 3 Volumes, I, 3-4.

erned." This step Buckle now proposed to take, hoping thereby "to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous," to what had been accomplished "by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science."¹

For a decade Buckle's ambitious enterprise dazzled the learned world, inspired numerous other investigators, and left some enduring traces in historical thinking. But neither Buckle nor his successors convinced the learned world that history really could be lifted into a realm of laws even "analogous" to laws in the realm of the natural sciences. History did not become a science in the sense that nineteenth century physics and chemistry were sciences. It remained scientific in the aspiration of historians to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, and was often called a science, but in a somewhat humbler sense than Buckle's dream.

The idea of development was implicit in Ranke's famous phrase and was applied by Ranke himself and by his contemporaries. But development was traced largely in terms of outstanding personalities, and against this practice there was protest. Voltaire in the eighteenth century had founded the history of civilization, and German historians in the eighteenth century had been struggling toward what came to be called *Kulturgeschichte*, a term for which there is no exact English equivalent but which is usually translated as the history of civilization. *Kulturgeschichte* regards great men as the product rather than the cause of human development and endeavors to trace development in terms of "mass" thoughts, feelings, and actions. That was the procedure of Buckle in his search for laws. It was a procedure which led Karl Lamprecht, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, to declare Ranke's phrase inadequate and to propose as a substitute *wie es eigentlich geworden*, how it actually became. Lamprecht applied this *genetic* conception in an extended *German History* which made him the center of a bitter controversy.² Ranke had really shown better than Lamprecht *wie es eigentlich geworden*,

¹ Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization in England*, Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1903-1904, 3 Volumes, I, 6.

² For Lamprecht's conception, see his *What Is History? Five lectures on the modern science of history*, Translated by E. A. Andrews, New York and London, 1905, 227 pp.

but the turn of the phrase brought *genetic history* into use as another name for *scientific history*.¹

The nineteenth century found history a narrative of past events. It was *historia* in the Latin sense. It was a branch of literature. There had been considerable analysis of the problems presented by historical investigation and considerable theorizing about how to write history. What is now called "historical criticism" had been founded in antiquity. It had been brilliantly illustrated by Renaissance scholars and had reached a high degree of perfection before history began to be called a science. It was historical criticism that prepared the way for a scientific conception of history. Viewed as that branch of literature which had for its subject the past, history seemed to require no further definition. Viewed as a science, history invited more precise definition and thus brought upon itself questions which are still in dispute.

Attempts to frame an exact definition of history have varied with the framers, except in their general agreement that history is a science. "History is the science," etc., has been the usual form of definitions, and this assumption, however particularized, has yielded definitions under which the Father of History and many of his most famous successors would have to admit that what they wrote was not history. Given intellectual freedom, it is of course the privilege of any one thus to abolish by definition the history of history and to regard as history only what he thinks history is or ought to be. It is also permissible to approach definition historically, that is, to regard past conceptions of the past as phenomena to be included with present conceptions of the past in framing a definition of history. A recent definition of this kind reads: "History is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past."²

The use of the term "science" in treatises on the historical method is somewhat confusing. History, we are informed, is a science, and then, as soon as analysis begins, we learn that the

¹ For a general account of *Kulturgeschichte*, see Gooch, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-594.

² Huizinga, Johan, in *Philosophy and History*, a volume of essays edited by Klibansky, Raymond and Paton, H. J., Oxford, 1936, p. 9.

historical method of arriving at facts differs radically from the method of the natural sciences. The natural sciences, except geology, deal, it is said, with facts which can be observed directly and which can be tested by experiment. History deals with facts which are beyond direct observation and which can be arrived at only indirectly through the traces which they have left behind. It is, according to Langlois and Seignobos, this indirect method of arriving at facts which makes facts historical. Any fact known thus indirectly is historical; the same fact known by direct observation is not historical. To those who are present at proceedings of any kind, the facts are not historical; they are facts known by direct observation. To those who are not present but later hear or read a report of what happened, the facts become historical. The historical character of facts is not in the facts themselves; it is in the method by which knowledge of the facts is acquired.¹ In this sense, most of the facts that most of us know, or think that we know, about anything are known only historically and are, therefore, historical facts. Most of what most of us know even about the natural sciences is historical; we do not observe the realities, we only hear about them or read about them.

Often, however, no distinction is made between the historical method of establishing facts and the method of the natural sciences. On the one hand, we have books and articles on the "laboratory method" of studying history and university courses in history called "laboratory" courses. This seems to imply that the process of establishing facts in history is at least analogous to the process of establishing facts in a laboratory of natural science. On the other hand, there are physical realities which scientists have named but have never seen, realities known only through their effects and therefore known indirectly. The scientist in dealing with these realities may still claim that he is applying the scientific method, and if he is, the scientific method may seem to include the historical method. There is, however, it may be urged, an important difference. The scientist's unseen realities, unlike the vanished realities of history, are present with their

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *op. cit.*, English translation, New York, 1903, pp. 63-64, note.

effects, and the effects can be tested by repeated experiment. But this difference may easily be overlooked.

Waiving other considerations, facts established by direct observation and experiment can in general be treated as equal in their degree of probability. Facts established by the indirect method of history vary in probability with their supporting sources. There is a general rule which requires agreement between at least two independent sources to produce a fact. Things on which two independent sources agree are "facts"; things on which they disagree are not "facts." A graduate student, called upon one day to define what makes a fact historical, answered: "A fact is historical if it had two witnesses both of whom are dead." It is of course not always necessary to kill the witnesses, but the idea of two witnesses was sound. The historian should summon at least two witnesses for his facts. There are exceptions. A description of a material remain can be established from the remain itself and can be conclusively tested by reference to the remain itself. No other source is needed. What a document says can be established from the document itself and can be conclusively tested by reference to the document itself. No other source is needed. "It has been said that all men are created equal." A single instance of the saying proves that it has been said. "Webster's Second Reply to Hayne has been compared to the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown." A single instance of such comparison proves that the comparison has been made. The total mass of such facts is very large but, in comparison with the total mass of facts for which the rule of two witnesses holds, such facts remain exceptional.

The historian may summon many more than two witnesses. Very often, however, there is only one witness to be found. All that has been written about a thing goes back to a single source. To cite very familiar examples, this is the case with Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith, with Washington and his hatchet, with Jefferson's lone ride to the Capitol for his first inauguration as President. There are attendant circumstances which reduce these stories to low levels of probability, but, merely on the principle that a fact must be supported by at least two

independent sources, the historian is not justified in accepting the stories as facts. He may properly write: "John Smith says that Pocahontas saved his life." That is a fact. He may properly write: "The Rev. Mason L. Weems says that Washington at the age of six had a hatchet with which he ruined a cherry tree." That is a fact. He may properly write: "John Davis says that Jefferson mounted a horse and rode unattended to the Capitol." That is a fact. In countless instances, however, historians have had such faith in the accuracy and honesty of a single source that they have accepted its unsupported statements as facts. Things found only in one source may be true, but they are not, strictly speaking, "facts." On the other hand, things on which a dozen independent sources agree and which, under the general rule, might therefore be regarded as facts of high probability, may be rejected by the historian because they are in conflict with what he believes to be "the laws of nature." Here he is inferring from "facts" which he accepts as true that certain other "facts" must be untrue.

The historian not only rejects facts by inference from other facts, but also establishes facts by inference from other facts. The sources are usually incomplete. They rarely contain all that the historian needs to know. There are countless gaps that can be filled only by inference from what the sources do contain. Such inferences pass as facts and may have a degree of probability equal to that of the facts from which they are drawn. They are facts for which there are no sources at all, except other facts.

The degree of probability which the historian attributes to facts is bound up with his "personal equation." One of Joseph Conrad's villains "was pursuing truth in the manner of men of sounder morality and purer intentions than his own; that is, he pursued it in the light of his own experience and prejudices. For facts," continues Conrad, "whatever their origin (and God only knows where they come from), can be only tested by our own particular suspicions."¹ Historians of sound morality and pure intentions have their "particular suspicions" and these must be

¹ Conrad, Joseph, *Victory*, Modern Library Edition, New York, 1932, pp. 148-149.

considered in estimating the degree of probability in their facts. And we who sit in judgment on historians must remember that we also have "particular suspicions."

If by the scientific method of establishing facts we mean direct observation and experiment, and if facts established by direct observation and experiment can in general be treated as equal in their degree of probability, the indirect method of history is plainly a different method and the general status of facts established by the indirect method is different. There are historical facts of which we can be certain. They are, as has been indicated, of exceptional types, but their total mass is very large. So far as such facts go, we can claim approximation to *wie es eigenlich gewesen*. There are other facts which all competent explorers of the sources have accepted and which it would, therefore, be hypercritical to reject. Their total mass is very large. So far as such facts go, we can claim approximation to *wie es eigenlich gewesen*. There are masses of other facts on which the most competent explorers of the sources disagree and which we can, therefore, only believe or disbelieve according to "our own particular suspicions."

But, given the facts and allowing for differences in degree of probability, may not that part of the historical method which is concerned with the synthesis of facts be essentially the scientific method? May not the product, as Buckle hoped, be something "equivalent, or at all events, analogous" to a natural science? These questions may imply: (1) a grouping of facts according to kind, a search for elements common to a group, a combining of generalizations from different groups into broader generalizations, and so on to generalizations broad enough to pass as laws of human development; or (2) a postulation of hypotheses to be tested by application to facts until the hypotheses are proved tenable or untenable. Either procedure would be scientific. But the historian is confronted by a question which does not arise with the same meaning in the natural sciences, the question, namely, of what is important. What makes a fact important in history? Its relation to other facts of course, but also, and often chiefly, its relation to the environment and time of the historian

and to his purpose or purposes in writing history. Historians of equal competence, treating the same subject, may, because of differences in purpose or differences in national or religious or political or economic or social affiliations, differ widely in their selection of facts and therefore in their generalizations. Each of them may regard as facts of high importance facts which the others entirely neglect. Facts important to historians in one generation may cease to be important to historians in the next generation. This may be due to the discovery of new facts. But quite apart from that, each generation demands a selection of facts determined by its own tastes, interests, and problems, and historians consciously or unconsciously respond to the prevailing sense of what is important around them. It has become an axiom that each generation must rewrite the history written by preceding generations. So constant is this rewriting that history has been called one of the most ephemeral of all forms of literature. It is almost as ephemeral as the most rapidly changing conceptions in the natural sciences. A natural scientist anxious to be up to date must, it is said, burn up or throw away his library every few years and start a new one. Histories are daily growing antiquated and ceasing to be of interest except to antiquarians.

In the treatment of any given subject, there are of course facts which all historians dealing with that subject include, regardless of the environment or generation in which the historians have their being. But even this is no guarantee of agreement in generalization. Historians with different purposes may see in the same facts different meanings. Historians responding to a prevailing sense of what is important to their party or country may, through the same facts, arrive at different generalizations. Historians may be committed to the scientific ideal of truth and yet differ as widely in their sense of what is important as historians whose ideal is merely to be interesting or to fit history to "the needs of the times."

If, as seems to be the case, the question of what is important is omnipresent and is a determining factor, historical synthesis cannot be entirely scientific in the sense of the natural sciences. Rickert has suggested that it is not scientific at all, that the his-

torian, who, in imitation of the scientist, sets out to discover what facts have in common, is following an erroneous assumption, that the fundamental quest in history is for what is important, and that historical synthesis is thereby completely differentiated from the method of the natural sciences.¹ Common usage has, however, extended the terms "scientific" and "science" to kinds of knowledge which are neither established by direct observation and experiment nor generalized after the manner of the natural sciences. Any critical examination of evidence in arriving at facts may be called "scientific," and any critical organization of critically established facts may be called a "science." In this sense, we now have many sciences. We have the social sciences as well as the natural sciences. History is one of the social sciences and as such may accept as fundamental the question of what is important.

The question of what is important in history admits of two interpretations. It may mean what *was* important in and to the past; it may mean what *is* important to us now. Scientific history in the Ranke sense followed the first of these meanings. Properly to trace the development of the ancient Babylonians seemed to require a search for what it was that mattered most to ancient Babylonians, for what it was that shaped life in ancient Babylon. Properly to trace the development of colonial Massachusetts seemed to require a search for what it was that mattered most in colonial Massachusetts, for what it was that shaped life in colonial Massachusetts. The ideal was to acquire so much of what is called the "historical sense" as to see the past through the eyes of the past and not, in the manner of the natural man, through the eyes of the present. History determined by what mattered most in the present would inevitably miss what mattered most in the past and could therefore neither correctly represent nor correctly explain the past. The ideal of scientific history in the Ranke sense was, in a word, *objectivity*, and it was the pursuit of this ideal that

¹ Rickert, Heinrich, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*, Leipzig, 1902. See especially Chapter III, Section 4. Rickert was led to characterize the historical method in the course of defining the limits of the natural-science concepts. His views are admirably summarized by F. M. Fling in the *American Historical Review*, IX, 1-22. There are later editions of Rickert.

characterized the "new history" as it was understood in the nineteenth century.

A "new history" which began to be prominent soon after 1900 has challenged objectivity on the ground that it is unattainable and has brought increasing emphasis upon the *subjectivity* of all history. Guglielmo Ferrero, writing a new history of ancient Rome, published in an English translation in 1907-1909, was consciously guided in his selection of facts by the tastes, interests, and problems of his own day and felt this as a virtue. The older histories of ancient Rome had, he said, been written in an age which still contended over forms of government and had in consequence been filled with political facts no longer of interest to mankind. Ferrero's purpose was to adapt the history of ancient Rome to the moral and social needs of the early twentieth century.¹ The new thing about his work was that he did consciously what the older historians had done unconsciously. James Harvey Robinson in his *New History*, published in 1912, wrote: "I think that one may find solace and intellectual repose in surrendering all attempts to define history and in conceding that it is the business of the historian to find out anything about mankind in the past which he believes to be interesting or important and about which there are sources of information."² The "business of the historian" in the twentieth century thus seemed to be in accord with the pattern established by Herodotus. Benedetto Croce, in 1917, annexing history to philosophy on the ground that the two were identical, declared that history is always "contemporary," always, that is, present thought about the past. Outside of thought there is no history; history is thought and nothing else. For historical investigators in general, Croce had only contempt. The historian should be a man of the world active in the struggles of his time.³ Charles A. Beard wrote in 1933: "The Ranke formula of history has been discarded and laid away in the museum of antiquities. Once more historians recognize formally the

¹ Ferrero, Guglielmo, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, five volumes, London and New York, 1907-1909. Translated by Zimmern, A. E., and Chaytor, H. J.

² Robinson, James Harvey, *The New History*, New York, 1912, p. 73.

³ Croce, Benedetto, *History: Its Theory and Practice*, translation by Ainslie, Douglas, New York, 1921. See especially pp. 13, 73, 108, 133, and 276.

obvious, long known informally, namely, that any written history inevitably reflects the thought of the author in his time and cultural setting.”¹ Giovanni Gentile, in 1936, declared: “Historical science, priding itself on the ‘facts,’ the positive and solid realities, which it contrasts with mere ideas or theories without objective validity, is living in a childish world of illusion.” And again: “The historian, in short, knows well enough that the life and meaning of past facts is not to be discovered in charters or inscriptions, or in any actual relics of the past; their source is in his own personality.”²

In the history of history as a separate discipline there has always been a new history, new in its correction of old facts, new in its discovery of new facts, new in its selection of facts, new in its generalizations, reflections, and speculations. But history is itself a phase of development and therefore never entirely new. History began as inquiry and is still inquiry. History became a record and is still a record. History became what actually happened and is still what actually happened. History has always been what human beings thought about the past, is still what each of us thinks about the past, and, in this sense, has always been a creation of the present. But the old history has established vast bodies of knowledge which the new history has simply re-established and which, apart from epistemological considerations, may be regarded as approximations to *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. There has always been much that was new in the new history, and there is much that is new in the new history now being produced. From those who project the new, a little impatience with the old is to be expected, mounting at times to something like intolerance. What is new may be so vastly informed and informing as to justify a high degree of impatience. But when all has been said for the present new history, there may still be a place outside of “the museum of antiquities” for the Ranke ideal.

History in the twentieth century has not altogether abandoned the hope of discovering laws analogous to those of the natural sciences. The difficulties are admittedly great. “Yet laws of

¹ *American Historical Review*, January, 1934, p. 221.

² *Philosophy and History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 104.

history there must be," said Edward P. Cheyney, addressing the American Historical Association in December, 1923, and in this faith went on very modestly but very courageously to a formulation of what he called his "guesses" at six laws. The first two, continuity and change, have already been recognized in this chapter as fundamental facts in the conception of development. The others were: the law of interdependence, under which the race prospers or suffers as a unit; the law of democracy, under which control of the processes of life in society tends to become democratic; the law of free consent, under which coercion brings disaster; and the law of moral progress, under which moral influences tend to become stronger than material influences. The enthusiastic applause which greeted this address may not have indicated unanimous approval of the laws as formulated; it certainly indicated an abiding interest in the search for laws.¹ Could the audience have foreseen what would be happening in 1940, there might have been less applause.

¹ For the address, see *American Historical Review*, January, 1924.

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM BEFORE 1890

HISTORY in some form has probably been a part of instruction since the earliest dawning of historical consciousness. There were peoples in remote antiquity to whom the handing down of traditions from the old to the young appealed as a national duty. The example set by the ancient Hebrews is familiar and perhaps exceptional. Yet the spirit in which Joshua commanded twelve stones to be gathered as a memorial of the crossing of the Jordan and dictated the answer to be given when children in time to come should ask their fathers, "What mean ye by these stones?"¹ has probably to some extent found expression among all peoples.

After the emergence of history as a distinct branch of learning, a long line of historians wrote didactic history. A long line of statesmen, generals, princes, philosophers, orators, and men of letters read history and found it useful. History became "philosophy teaching by example." It taught by example religion, morals, ideals of life, patriotism. It sometimes taught in a form suitable for the young in works which have the flavor of textbooks. A dozen or more such works written in the Roman world between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. have come down to us. Whatever their purpose or use in the ancient world, some of them, in the course of the Middle Ages, actually came into use as school textbooks. Some of them are still in use as textbooks in Latin and that was probably their role in the Middle Ages. There were, however, monks who were deeply interested in history, and it has been asserted that history was zealously taught in many cloister schools of the Middle Ages.²

¹ Joshua IV.

² Rosenburg, Hermann, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, sechste Auflage, Breslau, 1910, p. 130.

In the sixteenth century new textbooks in history appeared. They were written in Latin, which was still the language of learning, but their primary intent was obviously to promote the study of history and not to serve as models of Latin. The earliest of these works was a survey of German history¹ by Jacob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), a distinguished scholar, preacher, and reformer, and a voluminous writer. His book was published in 1505. Its purpose was to make young Germans proud of their German past and eager to enlarge the fame of Germans. This led to a broad view of history. Wimpfeling wrote of wars and princes, but he wrote also of art, literature, inventions, and social customs. He wrote of everything that seemed to serve his purpose, and anything that did not seem to serve his purpose he excluded. In his pages, Germans are an older people than the Romans. German heroes are spotless. Henry IV does not go to Canossa. That episode and other episodes damaging to German glory are boldly omitted. German painting, sculpture, and literature are quite up to the level of these arts among the ancient Greeks. The German invention of printing is compared in influence with the spread of Christianity by the Romans, and there are other epoch-making German inventions. Germans are the most hospitable of all peoples. Germans are more powerful and richer in famous men than any other people.

Wimpfeling's patriotic fervor seems to have made no immediate impression upon school programs, but later times found his book so acceptable that, revised, and eventually translated into German, it was reprinted as late as the reign of Frederick the Great — two hundred and fifty years after its first publication.²

The Protestant Revolt proved a powerful stimulus to historical research. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics appealed to the past for justification, and on both sides there were arguments for school instruction in history. Luther was an advocate of history for secondary schools. In history, he reasoned in 1524, we see ourselves as in a mirror. We learn, with implications for our own conduct, how it fared with the pious and the wise and how it fared

¹ Wimpfeling, Jacob, *Epitome Rerum Germanicarum usque ad nostra tempora*.

² See Viskovatov, Ravel, *Jacob Wimpfeling*, Berlin, 1867, pp. 105-115.

with the wicked. We have revealed to us "the wonderful works of God in the world." Luther wanted the truth but recognized that it took the heart of a lion to tell the truth. Historical works must, therefore, be used with critical caution. But historians as a class were so important that Luther would endow them "as the most useful of men and the best of teachers."¹

An argument of broader scope, including a program for school instruction in history, came from the pen of Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), a Roman Catholic. Vives was a Spaniard with a European reputation as a humanist scholar, a university teacher, and a writer. His *De Tradendis Disciplinis* (the transmission of knowledge), published in 1531, is now ranked among the great treatises on education. In this treatise, history is presented as the most excellent of all studies. "Where there is history, children have transferred to them the advantages of old men; where history is absent, old men are as children." History teaches us whence we came and what our rights are. It "serves as the example of what we should follow and what we should avoid." Vives was fully conscious of a changing world, but found an exception in "the essential nature of human beings." We can know, in spite of changes, "what human passions are, how they are aroused and how quelled," and this has far more significance than learning "how the ancients built their houses and how they were clothed." History is a central subject. "It is the one study which either gives birth to or nourishes, develops, cultivates all arts." The program which Vives outlined extended from Adam to his own day, included a description and keen appraisal of the historical literature suitable for such a program, and emphasized geography as essential at every stage of historical instruction. Wars and battles were minimized. "Wars," says Vives, "are to be regarded not otherwise than as cases of theft, as indeed they usually are, excepting perhaps when undertaken against thieves. . . . Let the student then give his attention to peaceful affairs."²

¹ Keferstein, H., *Dr. Martin Luther's Pädagogische Schriften*, Langensalza, 1888, pp. 1-3.

² See *Vives on Education* by Foster Watson, especially pp. 231-249. This work contains a translation of *De Tradendis Disciplinis*. Cambridge University Press, 1913, clvii, 328 pp.

The arguments of Luther and Vives doubtless stirred up some discussion among schoolmasters and may have prepared the way for the *Four Monarchies*, a textbook by Johannes Sleidanus (1506-1556). Sleidanus was a person of some prominence. He had studied at four universities and at one of them had become a Protestant. He had been employed in diplomacy. He had sat as a representative in the diets of Frankfort and of Worms and had been sent as a delegate to the Council of Trent. He had been a university professor of law. He had written, in the midst of other labors, a history of his own troubled times which was so impartial that it displeased his fellow Protestants but is now regarded as the most valuable contemporary history of the period. His textbook appears to have been his final contribution and may not have been published until after his death. It was certainly in print in 1557. Its title carried the Christian interpretation of Daniel's symbolic vision of four great beasts.¹ In accordance with that interpretation, Sleidanus selected his facts and organized what he conceived as universal history, beginning with the Deluge, following the procession of monarchies to his own time, and closing with a doleful warning of the suffering, which, according to Daniel, was still in store for "the people of God." A striking feature of the book was the citation of sources for each topic.

It was a small book. Its contents in the dress of a present-day textbook in world history for high schools would fill scarcely a hundred pages. That was a narrow space for what Sleidanus included and yet he achieved a high degree of definiteness. The *Four Monarchies* proved so interesting that within a few years schoolmasters in Germany, France, and England were reading the book with their pupils at mealtime or on other extra-curricular occasions. It was written in Latin, but translations began almost at once to appear. A French version came from the press in 1558 and an English version in 1563.² It captured the interest of Europe to a degree which made it for a century and a half the

¹ See Book of Daniel, Chapter VII.

² The British Museum has thirteen editions, published at dates ranging from 1559 to 1705. The Union Theological Seminary in New York has an edition of 1557, and Columbia University has the French version published in 1558. The Latin title was *De Quattuor Imperiis*.

reigning textbook in history. Often in German programs which included history, that subject was not listed as history but as Sleidanus or Sleidan.

In 1580 a new textbook entitled *Historia Anglorum* appeared in England and two years later inspired a petition to the Privy Council. On the ground that it would make English boys more patriotic, the petitioners asked for an order requiring the book to be read in all the schools of England. The Privy Council issued the order with results which may have been visible when the Spanish Armada came.

It was of course one thing for pupils to read a textbook or have it read to them and quite a different thing to have regular history lessons to learn. The latter step was taken in the cloister school at Ilfeld-am-Harz about 1575, in a two years' course in history and geography for the upper classes. The textbooks were prepared by the teacher, Michael Neander. The textbook in history followed the plan of Sleidanus and brought history down to 1575. The teaching of history at Ilfeld may have been the only example of the kind before the seventeenth century.

In the seventeenth century there was a marked advance in ideas about history as a school subject, and, in the schools of the Oratorians in France, we may see as in a mirror some of our own best ways of teaching history.

Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670), in his *Great Didactic*, completed in 1632, gave a place to history in every grade from "the school of the mother's knee" up through the university and "the college of lights" which was to follow the university. For elementary schools, he proposed a survey of world history; for secondary schools, he proposed selected topics in social history, ending in the last year with a general survey in which the topics were put together and in which there was special reference to the fatherland. Throughout both kinds of schools, history was to be so presented as to seem like play. It was to add nothing to school burdens. It was indeed actually to lighten school burdens. As historians had not been writing the kind of history that Comenius wanted, his plan would, he said, require the writing of a special textbook for each class. It was all a daring ideal. But the *Great*

Didactic slumbered in manuscript unknown to contemporaries and remained unpublished until 1849.¹

The religious order known as the Oratorians had established several schools in France, and their curriculum, adopted in 1634, included a well-defined course in history, covering Bible history and Greek, Roman, and French history, correlated throughout with geography. There were textbooks written by members of the order. There were special libraries for the use of pupils. There were special teachers of history. The class instruction was oral and was imparted in the French language. Great stress was laid upon making the past real. There were pictures, charts, and other aids to visualization, and teachers described in detail arms, costumes, buildings, and other material conditions of life in the past. History was regarded as of great value in cultivating judgment and in stimulating right conduct. History could "make us the contemporaries of all centuries in all countries"; it was "a grand mirror in which we see ourselves" and learn to know and to judge ourselves rightly. There was some grumbling in the order about giving history so large a place. There were those who thought science much more important. One member of the order went so far as to declare the observation of an insect of greater value than the whole history of Greece and Rome. But such opinions were exceptional.²

Christian Weise (1642-1708) was a Saxon poet, dramatist, novelist, and sometime tutor of two young Saxon counts. Tutorial experience had given him ideas about teaching history which grew into a book called *Der Kluge Hoff-Meister*, published in 1676. The book, as the title shows, without showing more, was intended for tutors. It was in two parts. The first part was a treatise on methods of teaching history.³ Its directions were so specific that any teacher would be able to follow them, and it contained much

¹ *Comenii Magna Didactica*, Leipzig, 1894, especially pp. 213, 222. See also M. W. Keatinge's translation in *The Great Didactic of Comenius*, London, 1896.

² Compayré, Gabriel, *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France*, Paris, 1904, I, 207-238.

³ See *Pädagogisches Magazin*, Heft 35, Langensalza, 1893, pp. 1-27. The pedagogical part of *Der Kluge Hoff-Meister* is here reprinted with some extracts from the historical part.

that would still be good advice to teachers. The second part was a textbook in history, containing in two hundred and seventy pages the subject matter which, in the opinion of Weise, would be useful to boys living in Saxony in 1676. Here, for the first time, appeared consciously the principle that what matters in the present should determine what to teach about the past. What *Der Kluge Hoff-Meister* taught was the history of Saxony plus so much of the history of Germany, Spain, France, England, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Italy, Turkey, and Switzerland as would help boys to understand Saxony in 1676. It was all essentially contemporary history. Weise's principle called naturally for the use of current events. He would have pupils familiar with newspapers. He even went so far as to suggest that the ideal way to teach history would be to begin with current events and work backward.

In his introduction, Weise expressed regret that historical studies were for the most part excluded from the instruction of youth, and his book brought no appreciable change in that condition. The book seems to have had few readers and was soon so entirely forgotten that no hint of its existence reappeared until 1890, when a stray copy came to light and was hailed as an important discovery.

A more influential contribution was made by Christoph Cellarius, a professor of history in the University of Halle who had previously served in various places as a school director. Qualified by both kinds of experience, he wrote three textbooks: *Historia Antiqua*, published in 1685; *Historia Medii Aevi*, published in 1688; and *Historia Nova*, published in 1696. This division gradually supplanted the *Four Monarchies* and is of course our familiar ancient, medieval, and modern history.

The eighteenth century developed much in its thinking that was unhistorical and even anti-historical and, in its grand climax of revolution, the French Republic of the Year I (1792), was in appearance an organized movement to abolish the past. But it was also a century of enthusiasm for history. In Germany, in Italy, in France, in England, and in America, scholars of many kinds gave their lives to themes that ranged from village history

to world history. Voltaire founded the history of civilization, and Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, produced a work which many still regard as the greatest history ever written. Few eighteenth century historians were gifted with enough historical sense to have any real feeling for the atmosphere of the past; few were critical of their sources; many were mere compilers of any material which they happened to find. But the mass of facts was vastly increased, and the scope of historical study was greatly widened.

Eighteenth century enthusiasm for history extended to history as a school study. "History when well taught," wrote Charles Rollin in his *Traité des Études*, completed in 1731, "is a school of morals for all men. It describes vice, it unmasks false virtue, it exposes errors and prejudices; it dissipates the enchantment of riches and of all that vain pomp which dazzles men; it shows by a thousand examples more persuasive than all arguments that there is nothing great and laudable except honor and uprightness." It should, then, be a part of the earliest instruction of children. It is equally fitted to amuse and to edify; it develops the intellect and the heart; it stores the memory with facts both pleasant and useful; it gives a taste for study.¹ Such sentiments were common in the eighteenth century.

Rollin's qualifying phrase, "when well taught," seems to imply that the teaching of history had become a familiar practice in France. In the schools of the Oratorians, history continued to hold its high place. Elsewhere in French secondary schools there was a sort of fusion in which history and geography were taught in connection with grammar and literature. A similar practice had developed in various German states, but there a more general tendency to treat history as a separate subject was discernible. By the middle of the century history had entered enough school programs to be counted by critics among the subjects in need of reconstruction. After that a continuous line of educational reformers accepted history as an important subject, cast aspersions upon the history actually being taught, and pointed the way to better things. By the close of the eighteenth century so much

¹ Rollin, Charles, *Traité des Études*, Paris, 1884, II, 162-164.

had been discovered about history teaching that little was left for later generations except to make the same discoveries.

In England there was Joseph Priestley (1733-1804). Trained for the Non-Conformist ministry, Priestley, in 1761, was appointed tutor in the Non-Conformist academy in Warrington and taught there for six years. In the course of this experience he constructed a remarkable chart of biography and an equally remarkable chart of history. Both were published and both attracted wide attention. More important still, he worked out and presented to boys of sixteen and seventeen two courses in history and one course in government and wrote a book about them which was published in 1765 as an *Essay on a course of liberal education for civil and active life*. He had observed that English education made no provision for "gentlemen who are designed to fill the principal stations of active life, distinct from those which are adapted to the learned professions," and the purpose of his courses in history and government was to remedy this defect.

Priestley described the uses of history, including its special use to ladies. His chief emphasis was upon "forming the able statesman and the intelligent and useful citizen." Of government he wrote: "It is universally esteemed the disgrace of the English nation that the gentlemen and scholars of it are generally so shamefully ignorant of that constitution which is their greatest glory, and which is regarded with admiration and envy by all foreigners." On government and laws, he believed, "the happiness of mankind more immediately depends," and a study of them in England "might perhaps contribute more to produce, propagate, and inflame a spirit of patriotism than any other circumstance."

Priestley's first course in history embraced a critical discussion of sources, a comprehensive survey of historical literature from Herodotus to Voltaire, and a comprehensive survey of the history of civilization, including politics, art, literature, education, science, inventions, commerce, social customs, and about everything else that any one can think of as a factor in civilization. Great emphasis was placed upon geography, especially commercial geography, and upon chemistry. The second course sur-

veyed in the same comprehensive manner the history of England. The course on the constitution and laws of England furnished what is probably the earliest precedent for treating government as a separate school study.¹

In France there was Rousseau's *Emile*, published in 1762 and destined to become one of the most widely discussed books in the history of education. *Emile*, guided at every step by the felt needs of his own personal experience, at the age of eighteen is becoming a man and feels the need of knowing men. It is time for him to begin his reading of the human heart. Living companions might be chosen for practice, but that would involve the danger of spoiling *Emile*'s own heart. A safer plan is to "show him men from afar, in other times, or in other places, so that he may behold the scene but cannot take part in it." He is thus introduced to history. But even this has its dangers. In the first place, history records the evil that men do rather than the good. In the second place, it does not give an exact picture of what happened. The accuracy of facts may not matter much, provided the human heart is truly pictured. But here the opinions of the historian are encountered and "the worst historians for the young are those who give their opinions." Give the pupil facts and let him decide for himself. Modern history is ruled out. The old historians show more intelligence but even among them there is wide scope for choice. Herodotus would perhaps be the best if his details did not run so often to childish folly. Livy is everything which is unsuitable for youth. Neither Polybius nor Sallust will do, and "Tacitus is the author of the old. Young men cannot understand him." Thucydides is the true model. He relates facts without giving his opinions. But unfortunately his subject is war. In the end, Rousseau is led to a preference for beginning "the study of the human heart with reading the lives of individuals." Here,

¹ Priestley is now remembered by general readers who remember him at all chiefly as a chemist who had something to do with oxygen. Contemporary Englishmen knew him better as a preacher who, in sermons and pamphlets, advanced dangerous ideas. A mob burned his house in Birmingham, burned the meeting-house where he preached, and burned the houses of some of his chief supporters. The last nine years of his life were spent in the United States.

The above account of Priestley's courses at Warrington is based on the *Essay* itself, London, 1765. See also Thorpe, T. E., *Joseph Priestley*, London, 1906.

plainly, is the biographical approach to history and probably its first appearance in the literature of education.

For biographical material, Rousseau again turns to the ancients. Plutarch is commended for giving us the trifles which show what men really were, trifles which modern writers are too grand to notice. Rousseau also has a good word for Suetonius. "The lives of kings," he says, "may be written a hundred times, but to no purpose. We shall never have another Suetonius."

By his reading of the human heart in history, *Emile* is to be made "wise and good at the expense of those who have gone before." He will not, like young men who study history in the usual way, see himself transformed into the characters he is studying, and have the discouragement and regret of finding afterward that he is only himself. Should *Emile* at any time wish to be any one but himself, even should he wish to be Socrates or Cato, that would prove his whole education a failure.¹

In Germany history teaching had among its critics, reformers, and promoters Frederick the Great (1712-1786), J. B. Basedow (1723-1790), C. E. Trapp (1745-1818), J. H. Campe (1746-1818), and C. G. Salzmann (1744-1811).

Frederick's interest in the reform of education began before he mounted the throne and remained with him throughout his reign. Protesting that merely giving children things to remember was not education at all, he demanded of education that it should exercise the judgment of pupils, cultivate their understanding, and encourage them to think for themselves. History held a high place in Frederick's thinking. He wrote history and he wrote about history, both for historians and for teachers of history. When his works were collected, history and thoughts about history filled seven of the thirty volumes. He was a champion of liberty for historians to tell the truth. Without that liberty, their works could, he said, be only mediocre or positively bad. He was, however, opposed to minute research into insignificant things and wanted historians to stick to essentials. He took the same attitude toward history for schools and found most of the essentials

¹ Rousseau, Jean Jacques (1712-1778), *Emile*, Foxley translation in Everyman's Library, London, 1911, pp. 72-77, 131-134, 198-202.

in contemporary history. This led him to say of German history that the period before the thirteenth century should be passed over quickly with mention of only a few of the most important events. After that, details were to enter and, on reaching modern times, expand until they culminated in a full study of life in the present. His vision was, however, not confined to recent history. "To contract the sphere of our ideas to the spot we live on," he wrote, "or to confine our knowledge to our private duties is to grovel in the most stupid ignorance. But to penetrate into the remote recesses of antiquity, to comprehend the whole universe within the extent of the mind is really to triumph over ignorance and error, is to co-exist with all ages and to become a citizen of all places and countries."

History was a school of special importance to princes and nobles and yet "not less useful to private persons." Princes, learning about past rulers, good and bad, would be sure to find characters who resembled living princes, would feel in the judgment of history on the dead a tacit sentence on living princes, and a forecast of what posterity would have to say about their own conduct. There would thus arise a certain dread of posterity which would be a "moral lesson." Less exalted persons would find similar examples suited to their various stations.

History for schools must be true, but the truth must be used to preach positive moral lessons. In teaching the Crusades, the teacher must preach against superstition; in teaching the night of St. Bartholomew, he must preach against fanaticism; and always, in teaching what was good, he must preach in praise of goodness. The pupil must see constantly that without goodness there can be neither fame nor true greatness. In Frederick's own fame and greatness, Germans apparently saw no inconsistency with such teachings. Enthusiastic schoolmasters tried to carry out his educational ideas and succeeded to a degree which increased their enthusiasm.¹

Basedow had discovered in his school days at Hamburg that something was wrong with education. His teachers had dis-

¹ In Frederick's writings there are many references to the teaching of history. See especially *Tome VII* of his collected works.

covered that something was wrong with Basedow and, with one exception, reported that he did not seem to know anything about anything. The one exception was the teacher of history, and his praise seemed justified when Basedow, at the age of twenty-three, wrote a poem of one hundred stanzas proving that a knowledge of history was indispensable to right living. Entering the University of Leipzig, Basedow disapproved of the professors and pursued a course of his own making. In 1752 he wrote a dissertation in which he developed ideas very similar to those that appeared ten years later in *Emile*. His ideas about history were, however, quite different from those of Rousseau. Basedow proposed that history should be taught backwards. Beginning with the present, he would have pupils move back from the Holy Roman Empire to the Byzantine Empire, then to the old Roman Empire, then to the Greek, then to the Persian, and so on back to the "obscure traditions" of the Deluge. After this world survey, he would have Old and New Testament history, and end with an exposition of the Lutheran Catechism.

In 1768 Basedow issued an appeal for a new education which stirred all Germany. Then he wrote a book on methods (*Methodenbuch*) and an elementary work (*Elementarwerk*), both of which were published in 1770. In the *Methodenbuch* he devoted an entire chapter to history for a prince. The needs of a prince were so different from those of his subjects that he must have a textbook in history written for his exclusive use. A long list of special topics indicated its character. The writing of such a book would require the work of two men for several years. One of the men must be familiar with archives and be well stocked with useful anecdotes. The other must be a philosophic friend of humanity and a master of literary style. The book when completed must not be printed. It must be kept in manuscript and be used only in the secrecy of the council chamber. For the subjects of a prince, Basedow proposed a different kind of history. This was perhaps the first clear recognition of the principle of differentiating history to meet the special needs of special kinds of pupils. The *Elementarwerk* was a comprehensive textbook containing, subject by subject, the materials to be taught in elementary

schools. Later Basedow prepared textbooks for secondary schools, including textbooks in history. The writing of textbooks was an essential part of his program of reform. He was an advocate of definiteness in teaching and felt himself a reformer in drawing subject boundaries.

A conviction that better education would make better subjects had become rather general among rulers in central Europe and found expression in official school regulations. In these regulations history began to appear in the list of required studies. It was included by Frederick the Great in his famous General Regulations of 1763 and in his instructions to the Berlin Academy for the sons of nobles in 1765. It was included by the Elector of Saxony in his school ordinance of 1773 and in a school law promulgated in Austria in 1774. It was included in the program of a school which Basedow, under the patronage of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, founded at Dessau in 1774.

Basedow's reputation and an impression that he was applying the ideas of Rousseau made his school famous, or at least notorious. Boys with wealthy parents came considerable distances to be enrolled as pupils. Many visitors came.

The course in history at Dessau was universal history. There was no separate course in German history. "Our aim," said Basedow, "is to make our pupils Europeans rather than Austrians or Saxons, that is, to make them men first and then citizens." The instruction was to be so pleasant that it would seem more like play than work. There was little memorizing. Pupils were expected to retain a general impression that human beings had lived long ago, as now, under a variety of states. Differences were emphasized. Only by appreciating differences between past and present would pupils be able to place themselves in their own time. In this Basedow showed historical sense. But his selection of facts was determined by their utility as examples. In the ancient history abridged by Basedow from standard ancient historians, there was more to shun than to imitate. The gossip of Suetonius was repeated for boys in their teens. It was not until Suetonius reached Caligula that Basedow seemed to feel any qualms. To seek edification in horrible examples was a very old

habit and the practice is not yet extinct. Witness the lurid charts of drunkards' stomachs still on display in some schoolrooms, the exhibits of crime in highly moral newspapers, and the efforts of highly moral "movies" to prove that "crime does not pay," and see, for an early American precedent, Cotton Mather's collection of the dying confessions of convicted criminals, published in his *Magnalia* in 1702.

Basedow was not entirely rigid in excluding facts not in themselves useful. A textbook in history should, he conceded, admit names and things of frequent mention in general literature, or of which ignorance might be bad. He therefore included such things as mythology, genealogy, and heraldry. Like the Oratorians, Basedow stressed visualization. With great labor and care he had engravings made to illustrate history. Pictures, he held, must be as accurate as the text and the text must be very accurate. "It would, however," he said, "be the greatest wonder in the world if a textbook should be wholly true," and his explanation of why textbooks err remains a pertinent warning.

Trapp's ideas about history appeared in his work as a teacher at Dessau. He believed that history should be correlated with geography and Latin. Seeking for the best models of literary style, he found modern textbooks deficient and in his classes used the older writers. He refused to use Priestley's charts, copies of which had been presented by the patron prince of the school, on the ground that it was better for pupils to make their own charts. He introduced what would now be called "work-books." He devised a "true-false" method of testing. With his class in history standing in a row, he would read a sentence. Pupils who thought the statement true would then hold up both hands above their heads, those who thought the statement false would leave their hands hanging down, and those who were in doubt would put out their hands horizontally. The following may be taken as fair samples:

"Cyrus lived before Abraham." Two pupils raised their hands.

"Demosthenes and Cicero were orators and were associated in Athens." Four pupils raised their hands.

"Socrates was a friend and teacher of virtue but Alexander, Philip's son, King of Macedonia, was more amiable than he." Most of the class stretched out their hands horizontally.

"Luther and Calvin were at one time famous schoolteachers." Results not recorded.

Campe composed many books for children. Among them was an ancient history written in verse and accompanied by pictures. He was an advocate of the use of sagas as an introduction to history. Sagas, being among the earliest forms of human history, seemed to him, for that reason, especially adapted to young children. Here was a hint of the culture epoch theory of education.

Salzmann, a minister called to Dessau to direct the devotional exercises of the school, became interested in the general system and in 1784 founded a school of his own at Schnepfenthal. By this time the teaching of history had become fairly general in German secondary schools and had been introduced in a considerable number of elementary schools. Scattering school regulations, beginning about 1704, had provided for the use of current newspapers in connection with history and furnish evidence of a widespread interest in the teaching of current events. *Kulturgeschichte* had been distinctly recognized. But, as Salzmann looked about, he was moved to write: "History, as it is ordinarily taught, lifts the pupil out of the society of the living and places him in the society of the dead." The pupil learns what happened a thousand years ago without learning what is happening now. He is taught to admire the wonders of Athens, Rome, and Sparta, their wars, their buildings, their art, yes, even the tales of Venus and Cupid, without knowing what assemblies, mayors, and the like really are. He is taught to prattle about consuls, tribunes, and dictators. He is taken to visit in imagination the Forum and the Areopagus, without ever seeing with his eyes the inside of his own city hall. Salzmann's remedy was the community approach to history. He drafted a plan which began with a study of Schnepfenthal. In dealing with ancient history, Salzmann excluded mythology. The ancient gods, he said, were not only immoral, they were pure unreason, and quite unsuitable for

children. Salzmann was among the first to suggest that teachers should study children and not subjects. Erudition in any field was, he said, unnecessary for a teacher of children.¹

There were frequent complaints in the eighteenth century that the pupil's own country was neglected. The usual conception of history for schools was a general survey of the world, especially the ancient world. Bible history was taught for its ethical and religious significance. Other ancient history was taught partly for the illumination of characters and events made famous by Greek and Roman writers, partly for its ethical value, and partly for general cultural ends. Rollin qualified his praise of history by remarking that he was not speaking of the history of France. To that field he had himself devoted little attention. "I am ashamed," he confesses, "to be in a way a stranger in my own country, after having surveyed so many others." He is still remembered for his *Ancient History*, one of the most widely read histories ever written. He believed that French history ought to be studied, but it seemed to him a natural order to begin with ancient history, and there was not time in school for both. As a matter of fact, some national history was taught in France, but the instruction was ineffective. Rolland, twenty-five years after the death of Rollin, complained that young Frenchmen knew the names of all the consuls of Rome, but were often ignorant of the names of the kings of France; they were acquainted with the deeds of Themistocles and of Scipio, but were ignorant of the deeds of Duguesclin, of Bayard, of Turenne, and of Sully. Rolland proposed to remedy this defect. He urged careful attention, not only to national history, but to local history.² In Germany school regulations and the writings of educators in general called upon history for special emphasis upon the fatherland, but here, as in France, ancient history seems to have held the chief place. At the opening of the nineteenth century a German could still ask:

¹ For the contributions of Basedow, Trapp, Campe, and Salzmann, see especially Gallandt, Julius, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsunterrichts im Zeitalter der deutschen Aufklärung*, Berlin, 1900. See also Diestelmann, R., *Basedow*, Leipzig, 1897; and Pinloche, A., *L'Éducation en Allemagne*, Paris, 1889.

² Kilian, M., *Tableau Historique de l'Instruction Secondaire en France*, Paris, 1841, pp. 56-57.

"Shall we go on knowing more about the history of Greece and Rome than about the history of our own country?"¹

The French Convention had answered that question for France in 1795 by a decree which provided for three stages of instruction. The first two stages were to be occupied exclusively with the French Revolution. That was national history, but national history reduced almost to current events. In the third stage there was to be a general survey of such history as promised to be of use in perfecting French art and industry. That, too, was nationalistic. But this program was abandoned in 1802.²

In England Non-Conformist schools continued to teach history, but there was only one Priestley and it does not appear that his ambitious courses at Warrington found imitations elsewhere. Rugby for a time offered to its upper classes Bible history and Roman and English history, but not as a part of the regular curriculum. Some English textbooks in history reached America, and, in a few of the Thirteen Colonies, some history seems to have been taught before the Declaration of Independence. A private school in Boston offered history in 1734; a Roman Catholic academy in Maryland offered history in 1745; the Philadelphia Academy, opened in 1751, offered history. There were other private offerings of history in Philadelphia in 1759 and in 1770, and in New York City in 1772, 1774, and 1779.³ In 1785 Noah Webster included "short stories of the geography and history of the United States" in his *Grammatical Institutes of the English Language*, a combination of reading book, spelling book, and grammar. He also wrote for Morse's *Geography*, published in 1788, "an account of the transactions of the United States after the Revolution, which account fills nearly twenty pages."⁴ The first textbook devoted wholly to the history of the United States was compiled by John M'Culloch and published in 1787. M'Culloch found Webster's "short stories" so good that he took one

¹ Reim, Carl, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, Halle, 1911, p. 186.

² Pizard, Alfred, *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Primaire*, Paris, 1891, p. 11.

³ Tryon, Rolla M., *The Social Sciences as School Subjects* in the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, Part XI, American Historical Association, New York, 1935, p. 103.

⁴ Quoted by W. F. Russell, in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 311.

hundred pages from the *Grammatical Institutes*. Another textbook in United States history, compiled by M'Culloch, was published in 1795, went through four editions, and was translated into Spanish.¹ Lewis Cass, who left the academy at Exeter in 1799, carried with him a certificate that named history as one of the studies in which he had made "valuable progress."² There may have been other pupils late in the eighteenth century who, at Exeter or elsewhere, made "valuable progress" in history and whose certificates are still to be recovered.

In the nineteenth century school instruction in history was advocated by practically all important writers on education. Among the exceptions were Herbert Spencer and Alexander Bain. Spencer found "the historic information commonly given" in his day "almost valueless for purposes of guidance." Most of the facts contained not only in "school histories," but even in "the more elaborate works written for adults," seemed to him "facts from which no conclusions can be drawn — unorganizable facts; and therefore facts which can be of no service in establishing principles of conduct, which is the chief use of facts. Read them, if you like, for amusement; but do not flatter yourself they are instructive."³ In the opinion of Bain, the fact that history presents no difficulty to minds of ordinary education and experience and is, moreover, an interesting form of literature, is a sufficient reason for not spending much time upon it in the curriculum of school or college. "Where there is any doubt, we may settle the matter by leaving it out."⁴

Teachers and school administrators sometimes objected to history. When, for example, in the course of a general inquiry concerning the state of elementary instruction in France, in 1863, inspectors were asked to specify subjects that should be obligatory, fourteen excluded history. "Instruction in history," said one, "is impossible. It is as much as an ordinary teacher can do to

¹ Spieseke, Alice W., *The first Textbooks in American History and their Compiler, John M'Culloch*, New York, 1938.

² McLaughlin, A. C., *Lewis Cass*, Boston, 1899, p. 39.

³ Spencer, Herbert, *Essays on Education*, Everyman's Library, London and New York, 1910, pp. 26-27.

⁴ Bain, Alexander, *Education as a Science*, New York, 1879, pp. 286-287.

teach reading, writing, and ciphering." "Instruction in history," said another, "is useless. Those who know how to read can read history for themselves." "Instruction in history," said another, "is injurious. It is likely to inspire children with a foolish vanity, prejudicial alike to individual happiness and to the repose of society."¹ But such objections were comparatively rare. There was much criticism both of the kind of history that was being taught and of the manner of teaching it, but there was general agreement that history ought to be taught.

By the French program of 1802, approved by Napoleon, ancient history came back into secondary schools, but only on an equal footing with geography and French history. The program for elementary schools had, during the Napoleonic régime, no history at all, but that there was a certain kind of popular instruction in history is indicated by a *Catechism for Use in All the Churches of the French Empire*,² published in 1806. This Catechism, after enumerating the duties of Christians toward their rulers, continued:

"Question. Are there not special motives that ought to attach us more strongly to Napoleon I, our Emperor?

"Answer. Yes, for it is he whom God has raised up at a critical time to reestablish the holy religion of our fathers and to be its protector. He has restored and conserved public order by his profound and ever active wisdom and defends the State with his powerful arm."

The spirit here illustrated is said to have been reflected, though not without protest, even in university instruction.

Outside of France the wars of Napoleon stirred a new patriotism which soon began to find expression in school programs. Historical scholars and teachers united in calling for national history. In Germany, Riedel, speaking with the authority of scholarship, declared in substance: The history of the Fatherland must be taught in all our schools; it must have a place in our universities; patriotic men must unceasingly speak of it, to the end that love and reverence for existing institutions may be inculcated. No branch of public affairs must be intrusted to men who do not appreciate the history of their country. Then will

¹ Pizard, Alfred, *op. cit.*, 26.

² *Ibid.*, 14.

history live in the people and the people will live on in history. Gedcke, a schoolmaster in Leipzig, was equally emphatic. "The history of the Fatherland," he said, "deserves the first place." Kohlrausch went a step farther and made patriotic history an accomplished fact. His *German History for Schools*, published in 1816, received immediately the compliment of extended use and became the model for a multitude of other textbooks both elementary and advanced. In it spoke the spirit so powerfully stimulated, first by defeat and then by victory, in the conflict with Napoleon. Battles and the doings of royalty constituted its substance. German patriotism tended, however, to assume the form of particularism. The Fatherland was not one; it was many, divided in interest and sentiment. Before long "every duodecimo state wanted its own glorious history, which must, so far as possible, be older and more glorious than that of the Hohenzollern."¹

After the downfall of Napoleon, history for secondary schools, in a large part of Europe, assumed a kind of orthodoxy determined by the state and designed to support the existing régime. A perfect example was furnished by Austria, where, under the system of Metternich, spies, passing from school to school, were expected to report any departures from prescribed facts or prescribed interpretations, and where offending teachers were subject to instant dismissal. The dominant aim of official history programs was to cultivate patriotism. This meant first of all loyalty to king or prince. But it meant also a character and spirit shaped by national ideals. The Prussian was to be made more Prussian, the Bavarian more Bavarian, the Austrian more Austrian, the Frenchman more French. As a rule, until about 1890, recent history was not included. German programs dwelt with sentimental and romantic fondness upon the Middle Ages. A five years' course at Mühlhausen in 1841, after a general survey extending to the Reformation, ended in the fifth year with Charlemagne.² A five years' course at Schleusingen in 1841 carried general history to the French Revolution and German history to

¹ Reim, Carl, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

² *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium zu Mühlhausen*, 1841.

1700, and ended in the fifth year with a survey of the Middle Ages.¹ A six years' course at Nordhausen in 1848 carried German and general history to undefined modern times but ended in the sixth year with the Middle Ages to 1273.² A *Realschule* at Nordhausen in 1878 carried history only through the Middle Ages and in the last year reviewed the Middle Ages.³ In France the program for secondary schools adopted in 1842 carried French history to 1789 and the program adopted in 1852 carried French history to 1815. In 1865 history was carried for the first time to the pupil's own day. In 1876 the limit was fixed at 1848; in 1887, at 1875; in 1890, at 1889.⁴ In England, at the close of the century, the usual stopping place for school instruction in English history was the accession of Victoria.

In the time schedules of European secondary schools, history and geography were rather commonly listed together. Their combined time allowance varied with class and program. Sometimes history and geography together had one hour a week throughout the course; sometimes they had four hours a week. The average was about two hours in the lower classes and about three hours in the upper classes. This meant for history and geography together about one tenth of the total of instruction hours. In rare cases history alone had as much as five hours a week. But Europeans thought of history as a subject that required time for assimilation, and in general were opposed on principle to having classes in history meet more than two or three times a week.

European secondary schools were for the élite. Whether public schools in the American sense or private schools, there were charges for tuition. Secondary education proper began at about the age of twelve, but there were preparatory classes which

¹ *Jahresbericht des gemeinschaftlichen hennebergischen Gymnasiums zu Schleusingen*, 1841.

² *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung sämmtlicher Klassen des Gymnasiums zu Nordhausen*, 1848-1849.

³ *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung sämmtlicher Klassen der Realschule zu Nordhausen*, 1878-1879.

⁴ An appendix to *Statistique de l'Enseignement Secondaire en 1887* records French programs. See also Gréard, Octave, *Éducation et Instruction, Enseignement Secondaire*, deuxième édition, Paris, 1889, II, 274-319.

children could enter at the age of six, and this was socially desirable. The secondary course was completed at about the age of eighteen and left boys about where American colleges left students at the end of their sophomore year. Until about 1880 state-supported secondary schools in Europe existed for boys alone. Girls were excluded. Provision for their interests was left to private schools and to local initiative. When states set up secondary schools for girls, the courses of study were usually less comprehensive than those for boys and were adapted to the special needs of girls. France began in 1882 with a course of five years which girls were expected to complete at the age of seventeen. The course was divided into two "periods." The history for the first "period," embracing three years, was a chronological survey of France to 1875; the history for corresponding years in boys' secondary schools was ancient history followed by general European history to 1789. The history for the second "period" in girls' schools was a general survey of civilization from prehistoric times to the girls' own day; the history for corresponding years in boys' schools was European history, 1789-1848. Differences equally marked between courses in history for girls and courses in history for boys appeared in other European countries.

From the beginning, secondary schools for boys prepared for the university, which in turn prepared for the professions and for leadership in public life. Schools for the children of common people might care for pupils up to the age of eighteen, but they did not prepare for the university. They were concerned with the things that common people needed to know to make them intelligent workers and good subjects or citizens in the humbler walks of life. These schools had different names in different countries, but, for the present purpose, it will be sufficient to designate them as "common schools."

History entered some common schools in the eighteenth century, but it was not until about 1850 that it began to be generally recognized as a separate branch of instruction, and it was not until about 1870 that it began to be generally prescribed for common schools. Even then England formed a notable exception.

Here history remained until 1900 an option, to be included in common school instruction or omitted at the discretion of masters. Materials for history in common schools were from the beginning drawn almost exclusively from national history. It was of course scarcely possible to teach the history of any European country without some reference to other European countries, but these references were, as a rule, reduced to the lowest possible minimum and served chiefly for the glorification of national or local history. In secondary schools history became eminently patriotic; in common schools the dominant purpose was patriotism. Bible history was taught in both kinds of schools, but was often classed with religious rather than with historical instruction. In 1887 Bible history was dropped from French public schools.

By 1890 Continental Europeans had established several special types both of secondary and of common schools with some differentiation of history courses to meet special needs. But for each type of school there was a graded, connected, related course in history, required of all pupils. The length of the course varied. In common schools instruction in history might begin in the first year with children of five or six; more often it was reserved for the last four or five years of the curriculum. Where history was taught in the lowest classes, the time allowance was usually one hour a week; in the upper classes it was usually two hours a week. In secondary schools the rule was history in every year, but there were some exceptions. History for girls differed from history for boys. Sometimes history for girls differed from history for boys even in common schools, a condition made entirely feasible by segregation. But wherever history began and whatever the nature of the course, once started, exposure to it was continuous until the end. Continuity was accepted as a fundamental condition. Each course provided a minimum of facts to be learned and digested, and pupils left school really knowing those facts.

In England the systematic teaching of history in secondary schools was promoted by Thomas Arnold at Rugby about 1830. His plan was to begin in the lowest classes with scenes from universal history. These were followed in the middle classes by lively histories of Greece, Rome, and England, and in the higher

classes by the study of some historian of the first rank, "whose mind was formed in, and bears the stamp of, some period of advanced civilization analogous to that in which we now live"; for example, Thucydides or Tacitus.¹ After Arnold little was done until Oxford and Cambridge in the seventies began to recognize history in their examinations. History then soon appeared in practically all English secondary schools. Examinations, however, encouraged subjects rather than well-organized courses like those on the Continent. The usual subjects were Greek and Roman history, and English history to 1815 or 1832, but occasionally modern European history received some attention. England in the nineteenth century may, on the whole, be said to have made more history and to have taught less history than any other civilized country.

In the United States the teaching of history made slight progress until after the War of 1812. It then began to appear with increasing frequency in the academies of New England and New York. In 1827 Massachusetts, by statutory mandate, placed "the history of the United States" on the list of subjects to be taught in "every city, town, or district of five hundred families or householders," and "history" on the list of subjects to be taught, "in addition to all the foregoing branches, in every city, town, or district containing four thousand inhabitants." A Vermont law of the same year required all organized towns to teach the history of the United States. Before 1850 New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Virginia had laws requiring schools to teach the history of the United States. In Ohio the Columbus Female Seminary in 1830 had history of the United States, chronology, mythology, and evidences of Christianity in the third year of its curriculum, and ancient and modern history and evidences of Christianity in the fourth year. The Columbus High School for Young Ladies in 1832 had four years of history, beginning with the United States and ending with ancient mythology. The High School Course of Study in Cleveland in 1851 had the following requirements:

¹ Withers, H. L., *The Teaching of History and Other Papers*, Manchester, 1904, p. 113.

First year: First term, history of England.

Second term, history of France.

Third term, history of Greece.

Second year: First term, history of Rome; science of government.

Second term, political economy.

Third year: First and second terms, general history.¹

History entered few elementary schools before 1820. In 1826, in the state of New York, "the history of the United States was studied in six towns only." In 1834 it constituted "a part of the course of instruction in one hundred and four towns."² In 1844 it was reported as taught in most of the towns of the state.³ Scattering references to conditions in other states indicate, in most cases, a somewhat later but equally decisive advance. Among the newer states, Michigan showed an early and conspicuous interest in history. Here in 1837, at the very beginning of statehood, the Superintendent of Public Instruction included in his *Report* a plea for the teaching of United States history in the common schools.⁴ In 1847 the University of Michigan shared with Harvard the honor of introducing history as an entrance requirement.

In its treatment of history as a series of independent subjects, the Cleveland program of 1851 was typical of American practice. The idea of a connected, related course in history for schools, each part a direct preparation for the next, already an established tradition on the continent of Europe, was, and through most of the century remained, as foreign to American as to English thinking. The subject for American elementary schools was United States history. "The history of foreign countries," said the New York State Superintendent of Schools in 1835, "however desirable it may be, cannot ordinarily enter into a system of common school education without opening too wide a field. It is safer in general to treat it as a superfluity, and leave it to such as have leisure in after life."⁵ To such the elementary school did in fact for many years leave it, partly because the time allowed for history was too

¹ Sealock, William Elmer, *Evolution of Free Schools in Ohio*, Ms., Chapters VIII, XI.

² *Report*, New York Superintendent of Schools, 1833-1835, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, 1844, p. 452.

⁴ *Report*, 1837, p. 16.

⁵ *Report*, 1833-1835, p. 21.

short for any account of foreign countries, and partly because of a belief that the attention of children in the elementary school should on principle be confined to the history of their own country. The subject was commonly taught only in the upper grades, often only in the last year.

In academies and high schools the subjects varied widely. The work was sometimes confined to general history or to ancient history; sometimes to American history; sometimes two or all three of these subjects were offered; sometimes English history was substituted for one of them, or added as a fourth subject. Other subjects often listed separately were Grecian antiquities, Roman antiquities, mythology, and, occasionally, ecclesiastical history. For a good many years, foreign countries received, on the whole, more attention than the United States. In New York, for example, until about 1860, general history alone was listed more frequently than United States history. In 1852, 126 out of 170 schools reporting to the Regents offered general history and 91 offered United States history. By 1862 this condition had changed. Of 204 schools reporting in that year, 132 offered general history and 169 offered United States history.¹

The values most frequently claimed by nineteenth century Americans for historical instruction were moral training, patriotism, training for citizenship, and discipline of the memory, the judgment, and the imagination.² The moral and disciplinary values were described quite in the manner which had already become traditional in Europe. The ideas were essentially the same as those advanced by Rollin in the eighteenth century. The relation of history to citizenship in a free country presented a new condition and invited new forms of expression. Love of country, loyalty to national ideals, reverence for law, and respect for constituted authority were enumerated quite in the spirit of old-world tradition. But a different chord was touched in enlarging upon the duties of free citizens. Every voter, it was urged, is in effect called upon to be a statesman, and statesmen need history

¹ See *Reports*, Regents of University of New York, for years indicated. The statements relating to variety of subjects are based upon information gathered from about one hundred schools in different parts of the country.

² Cf. Russell, W. F., in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 203.

in a special way both for guidance and for inspiration. Other and more general values claimed for history were that it "elevates the mind" and "enlarges the soul," opens sources of amusement as well as of profound thought, and gives a taste for solid reading. It was also asserted, but less frequently, that the study of history promotes sound religion.

By 1870 history appears to have won fairly general acceptance as one of the essential school studies. Its position in the high school began at about this time to be materially strengthened by a widening recognition of history as a requirement for entrance to college. But until about 1890 history continued to develop substantially along the lines already indicated. A committee of the National Education Association, reporting, in 1876, a course of study from the primary school to the university, probably represented the average practice of the day in recommending United States history as a subject to be required in elementary schools and "universal history and the Constitution of the United States" as subjects to be required in high schools. In the better schools United States history continued to find a place in one or both of the upper grades of elementary schools; ancient history or general history, or both, in high schools. Few elementary schools began history before the seventh grade, and fewer still admitted any European history. Instruction in history in the high school might be for a term, a half-year, or a year. In some favored schools it might extend over two or more years and include, besides ancient history and general history, American history or English history, or both. Outside of such favored schools the United States in 1890 ranked with England as a backward country in the teaching of history, not only in comparison with Germany and France, but in comparison with other European countries.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AFTER 1890

A MONG nineteenth century teachers of history were historical scholars who early accepted the scientific conception of history and argued for its application to history for schools. There were indeed precedents for a scientific spirit in the treatment of history for schools before historians began to talk about scientific history. Vives had the spirit in 1531, and Priestley had it in 1765. Ranke, it will be remembered, was a teacher in a secondary school when he announced the dictum *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. In that dictum he was, however, explaining his aim as a writer of history rather than as a teacher. A dozen years later Karl August Müller saw clearly the implications of scientific history for history in schools and set them forth clearly in a book on the teaching of history.¹ Something of a scientific spirit was promoted by *Kulturgeschichte*, which after 1860 became a general issue in Europe, and by school use of primary sources, vigorously advocated but still more vigorously opposed. After 1890 the claims of scholarship began to receive more general attention in the shaping of history programs for schools, but often came under fire from the great correlation movement of the nineties.

The idea of correlation was old. It was probably applied by the first good teacher. It was recognized by sixteenth and seventeenth century writers on history as a school subject and in the eighteenth century was carried so far that Basedow's "new education" demanded more clearly-defined subject boundaries. But Pestalozzian influence favored more and not less correlation, and in 1817 found expression in an attempt at fusion.² In that

¹ Müller, Karl August, *Ueber den Geschichtsunterricht auf Schulen*, Dresden, 1835, 118 pp.

² The idea of fusion was not new. Franciscus Balduinus, in a work published in 1561, attempted to fuse history with something like what is now called political¹

year Wilhelm Harnisch, in his *Weltkunde*, brought together in one organization geography, mineralogy, physics, botany, zoology, anthropology, statistics, and history, so arranged as to introduce materials from all of the eight fields in the order in which pupil nature might be assumed to call for them. In 1822 Jacoto put forth his paradox that "all is in all." His principle was to teach one thing thoroughly and relate everything else to that. The one thing that he chose was Fénelon's *Télémaque*. But the impulse to systematic correlation in the nineties came from the Herbartians. Herbart's own generation had been unresponsive to his educational ideas, and when he died in 1841 his theory of education was apparently buried with him. But in 1865 Tuiskon Ziller published a treatise based on Herbart's ideas, and out of this revival grew the Herbartian movement. The literature became enormous. In 1900 it was estimated that in Germany and Switzerland alone the printing presses had turned out more than two thousand works on the Herbartian movement.

Herbart had suggested that the pupil should study all subjects and be able to grasp their unifying relations so as to have in his mind an articulated body of knowledge and opinions. Ziller took this hint and worked out a unified curriculum for the elementary school on the principle of *concentration*, which means the grouping of everything to be taught around one central subject, and invites comparison with Jacoto's plan. Ziller chose history as his central subject. But other kinds of concentration followed. Some Herbartians chose as their central subject natural science, some chose geography, some chose the social life of the school or the local community, some chose current events. Whatever the core, there was complaint that other subjects suffered a disorganization which robbed them of salient values. There was also correlation without concentration, a correlation in which the different subjects were so arranged as to play upon each other without subordination to any one central subject. This procedure in some cases led quite logically to a conviction that there should be no subject boundaries, that all knowledge desirable for school pur-

science, and some evidence of continued interest in the idea is furnished by the reprinting of this work in 1728.

poses should be thrown into one mass and then reorganized without any reference to "artificial lines" between subjects. In the United States there were many attacks on subject boundaries, and educational audiences often applauded with enthusiasm speakers who cried, "Down with school subjects! Let us teach children and not subjects!"

The scientific spirit in discussions of history for schools found its fullest expression in France. Professor Seignobos, a leading exponent of the spirit, wrote in 1897: "We no longer go to history for lessons in morals, nor for good examples of conduct, nor yet for dramatic or picturesque scenes. We understand that for all these purposes legend would be preferable to history, for it presents a chain of causes and effects more in accordance with our ideas of justice, more perfect and heroic characters, finer and more affecting scenes. Nor do we seek to use history, as is done in Germany, for the purpose of promoting patriotism and loyalty; we feel that it would be illogical for different persons to draw opposite conclusions from the same science according to their country or party; it would be an invitation to every people to mutilate, if not to alter, history in the direction of its preferences. We understand that the value of every science consists in its being true, and we ask from history truth and nothing more."¹

In this spirit a commission of which Professor Seignobos was a member drafted the history part of the program of 1902 for lycées for boys.² It was a program in world history. It traced from the point of view of development "the principal transformations of humanity." Yet Professor Seignobos had himself for twenty years been occupied with the question: What is there in the history of the world that would be useful for young Frenchmen to know? The program of 1902 was an answer to this question. It demanded, after all, something more than truth; it demanded a special kind of truth, truth that would be useful to young Frenchmen living in the twentieth century. It was an approach to world history guided by high ideals of scholarship,

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

² *Plan d'Études et Programmes d'Enseignement dans les Lycées et Collèges de Garçons*, Paris, 1902.

but it was a provincial approach. What was taught was taught in a spirit so scientific that it ran counter to many French prejudices and aroused much opposition. But the general outcome was a French view of the world.

German discussions after 1890 also emphasized scholarship in history for secondary schools. Nothing was to be taught as fact which was not fact in the works of competent historians. Development was to be traced. There was to be continuity. But the point of view was distinctly German and the grand purpose was to build up Germanism. Historical truth interpreted became sermons on German ideals, sometimes positively preached, sometimes merely implied. Different German states had somewhat different history programs with differences in local emphasis that accentuated the provincial spirit of instruction. German history was set with skill in a world background. But even facts recognized by competent historians can of course be so selected and arranged as to convey a desired moral, and the moral of history as taught in German secondary schools continued to be what it had been with increasing clearness since 1870, Hohenzollern *Deutschland über alles*. There was no such pointed moral in history as taught in French secondary schools, yet German critics often accused the French of distorting history for patriotic ends.

The treatment of history in the secondary schools of other European countries, except Great Britain, was more like the German than like the French treatment. Scholarship was recognized. The historical ideas of development and continuity were applied. But in each country history for secondary schools supported the existing régime and national ideals in ways that seemed to critics in other countries a distortion of facts. In Sweden and Russia national history and general history appeared side by side as separate subjects. A Swedish program providing for ten years of required historical instruction was arranged as follows: 1. Northern history and mythology, Sweden to 1319; 2. Sweden, 1319-1611, stories from Greek and Roman history; 3. Sweden, 1611-1718, ancient history, and so on.¹ The Russian program of 1890, covering eight years of instruction, began his-

¹ *Redögörelse för Lunds Högre Allmänna Läroverk, 1911-1912.*

tory in the third year and proceeded as follows: 3. Russian history; 4. Ancient history; 5. The Middle Ages, Russian history to Ivan IV; 6. Modern history, Russian history to the death of Peter I; 7. Modern history, 1715 to the present, Russian history; 8. Greek and Roman history, Russian history.¹ The Belgian program of 1889, with history in every year of a seven-year course of study, had an arrangement for two of the years resembling somewhat the Russian program. In the fourth year a brief survey of contemporary history stood by the side of the history of Belgium; in the seventh year the history of Belgium stood by the side of modern history since 1789.² The rule on the continent was a connected survey of general history with special reference to national history. The program, as in Italy,³ might cover the ground only once, but usually there were two or more surveys adjusted to different levels of instruction. The Spanish program of 1895 was exceptional.⁴ In the first place, history appeared in only two of the five years of instruction covered by the program. In the second place, the materials were grouped as subjects and did not make a connected course. One of the subjects was the history of Spain; it was taught in the second year. The other subject was general history, taught in the third year. Great Britain had higher standards of scholarship for history in schools than most of the continent except France, but adhered to the subject system with only rare hints of a continuous course in history.⁵

History programs for common schools in Europe were in some cases lengthened after 1890 and so enlarged as to include a little more of general history. But here scholarship imposed no necessary conditions. What was desired of history for the children of common people was a story that would inspire intense patriotism and an intense sense of duty to the existing régime. National

¹ Joseph Baar, *Studien über den geschichtlichen Unterricht an den höheren Lehranstalten des Auslandes*, 1895, Part I, appendix.

² *Ministère de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique*, 1905, pp. 22-26.

³ Joseph Baar, *op. cit.*, Part I, appendix.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools, Report, Committee of Seven*, 1899, pp. 217-225.

history continued to be glorified, often in ways well calculated to keep alive old grievances against other countries, old prejudices, old jealousies, and old national and racial hatreds.

In the United States the National Education Association in 1892 created the Committee of Ten with instructions to organize conferences for the discussion of the various subjects that entered "into the programs of secondary schools in the United States and into the requirements for admission to college," and to make such recommendations as might seem appropriate. The Conference on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy met at Madison in December, 1892, and its report placed before the general educational public for the first time in America a history program approaching in completeness programs for more than fifty years familiar in Europe. The Conference asked for eight consecutive years of history, four in the elementary school, and four in the high school. But the elementary school was beyond the province of the Committee of Ten. The vital principle of consecutive study could, therefore, not be considered in the form proposed. It proved difficult to apply even in the high school. The Conference on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy was only one of nine conferences. When the conclusions of all were tabulated, it appeared that to carry all the recommendations into effect would require twenty-two instruction periods per week in the first year of the high school, thirty-seven and one-half in the second, thirty-five in the third, and thirty-seven and one-half in the fourth. The Committee adopted twenty periods per week as a desirable maximum and arranged four different courses of study, finding room for four years of history in one course only. In each of the other three courses there were to be two years of required history and one year of elective history.¹

The next approach was through college entrance requirements. Colleges had since 1870 been steadily increasing the range of the history requirement. But the requirements differed so widely that most high schools had to consider a variety of requirements and

¹ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Subjects . . . with the reports of the conferences . . .*, Washington, 1893, pp. 46-47.

taught, in consequence, not a carefully arranged course in history but, as of old, merely subjects in history. Most of the colleges had to consider a variety of preparation for college work in history and prescribed, in consequence, college courses that were themselves preparatory. It would clearly be to the advantage both of high schools and of colleges to encourage at least some degree of uniformity. A committee of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools proposed in 1895 seven topics, any two of which were to constitute a subject for college entrance, and asked acceptance of "any additional topic or topics from the list as additional preparation for entrance or for advanced standing."¹ A conference of six eastern universities held at Columbia University in 1896 accepted the principle laid down by the New England Committee but changed the topics somewhat and arranged them in two groups.² Several colleges accepted the recommendations of the Columbia Conference, and by 1900 a number of other colleges and universities had them under consideration. In the meantime, the Committee on College Entrance Requirements, authorized in 1895 by the National Education Association, had been seeking the coöperation of other organizations in an attempt to deal with the entire question. The response of the American Historical Association was the appointment in December, 1896, of the Committee of Seven.

The Committee of Seven found the question of college entrance so bound up with the larger question of why history should be taught in schools and what history should be taught as to call for a study of the entire field. The *Report*, written by the chairman, Andrew C. McLaughlin, was the ablest document relating to history for schools that had ever been produced in America. "Before we began our work," said the *Report*, "it was plain that there was an awakening interest in this whole subject, and the time seemed to be at hand when a systematic effort would meet with response and produce results. But in spite of all that had

¹ New England History Teachers' Association, *Publication Number 5*, Boston, 1898, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

been done, and in spite of this awakened interest, there was no recognized consensus of opinion in the country at large, not one generally accepted judgment, not even one well-known point of agreement, which would serve as a beginning for a consideration of the place of history in the high-school curriculum. Such a statement cannot be made concerning any other subject commonly taught in the secondary schools.”¹

The Committee, after a careful consideration of programs and conditions both in the United States and Europe, recommended four blocks of history, as follows:

First year: Ancient History to 800 A.D., or 814, or 843.

Second year: Mediaeval and Modern European History.

Third year: English History.

Fourth year: American History and Civil Government.²

These blocks became, within a few years, the units most generally recognized both in high-school courses of study and in requirements for entrance to college. A considerable number of schools offered all of the blocks but in relatively few instances required all for graduation. Some of them required no history at all and offered the blocks merely as electives; some of them required one block, some two blocks, some three blocks, and offered the remainder as elective. A greater number of schools offered three of the blocks and in a larger proportion of instances required all three, but a considerable fraction required only two blocks, a smaller fraction required only one block, and in some cases all three blocks were elective.³

Interest in history after 1892 extended to the elementary school. The Committee of Fifteen of the National Education Association in 1895 recommended oral lessons in general history and biography, sixty minutes a week, throughout the eight years of the elementary course. In the seventh year and the first half of the eighth there were to be, in addition to these oral lessons, five text-

¹ American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools, report . . . by the Committee of Seven*, New York, 1899, reprinted 1912, p. 3.

² American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools, report . . . by the Committee of Seven*, New York, 1899, reprinted 1912, pp. 34-43.

³ For a survey of conditions in 1909, see *Indiana University Bulletin*, September, 1909.

book lessons a week on United States history up to the adoption of the Constitution, and in the second half of the eighth year, five lessons a week on the Constitution. "The formation of the Constitution, and a brief study of the salient features of the Constitution itself," said the report, "conclude the study of the portion of the history of the United States that is sufficiently remote to be treated after the manner of an educational classic." The later epochs seemed "not so well fitted for intensive study in school as the already classic period of our history" and were left to be read at home! To this proposition, however, not all of the members subscribed.¹

In 1897 another committee of the National Education Association, the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools, proposed a program for history strongly suggestive of French influence, both in the grouping of classes and in the treatment of materials.²

Interest in the elementary history program, usually including civics, was further stimulated by numerous individual contributions representing many different points of view, and many different points of view appeared in actual practice. But after 1909 the *Report* of the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association approached in influence a ruling document. The program proposed by this committee was as follows:³

First grade: Indian life; stories connected with Thanksgiving day and Washington's birthday; stories connected with local events.

Second grade: Indian life; Thanksgiving; Washington's birthday; local events; Memorial day.

Third grade: Heroes of other times: Joseph, Moses, David, Ulysses, and so on to Columbus.

Fourth grade: Historical scenes and persons in American history, colonial period.

Fifth grade: Historical scenes and persons in American history continued; great industries of the present.

Sixth grade: Selected topics from Greek, Roman, and European history to the end of Raleigh's colonial enterprises in America.

¹ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education with the reports of the sub-committees . . .*, New York, 1895, pp. 66, 70, 93.

² Johnson, Henry, *Teaching of History*, New York, 1915, pp. 124, 152.

³ The *Report* included a syllabus of ninety pages with references to materials.

Seventh grade: American history to the end of the Revolution;
European background continued.

Eighth grade: American history since the Revolution; great events
in European history.

The *Report* of the Committee of Seven and the textbooks which it inspired raised scholarship in history for American high schools to new levels. Textbooks written or supervised by historical scholars appeared even in elementary schools. But the new books often showed more acquaintance with scholarship than with principles of grading. Some American histories for the upper grades of the elementary school were more difficult than American histories for the senior year of the high school. Some ancient histories for the first year of the high school were almost absurdly unsuitable. Failures in grading were taken as evidence that scholarship itself was without appeal to pupils. Then there were frequent rediscoveries of "the child," and always the felt needs of "the child" came into conflict with the felt needs of scholarship. Psychology was invoked against any chronological treatment of history. Training for social efficiency became a dominant aim in education and called for education through and for the immediate social environment to a degree which subjected history as history to severe questioning. A feeling that education in general had fallen out of step with the social environment found increasing expression. For history this brought a revival of such seventeenth and eighteenth century ideas as: that the present should determine what to teach about the past, that the approach should be through the pupil's own community, that history should be taught backward, that it should be reduced to current events, that it should be broken up into timely topics, and on the whole that we should teach children and not subjects. Weise, Basedow, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Salzmann, without being quoted, seemed to live again. "One couldn't carry on life comfortably," said Sir Hugo to Daniel Deronda, "without a little blindness to the fact that everything has been said better than we can put it ourselves."¹ Reformers of education seem to carry on life very comfortably with ideas which have been put many times

¹ George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, New York, 1876, I, 182.

before, and of course the conditions to which the ideas are applied are always new.

There was from the first some dissatisfaction with the blocks proposed by the Committee of Seven, and in 1911 another committee of the American Historical Association, the Committee of Five, after a resurvey of the field, suggested some modifications for schools desiring a change. But a reorganization of education had begun. Many school systems were moving toward the 6-3-3 plan. The junior high school, at first little more than a new name for grades 7, 8, and 9, without essential change of curriculum, soon acquired a place of its own with a distinctive program which made the suggestions of the Committees of Seven, of Eight, and of Five alike unsuitable. What the trend of the times demanded seemed to be correctly interpreted by the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association, a committee of twenty-one members interlocked with a reviewing committee of twenty-six members. Thomas Jesse Jones of the United States Bureau of Education was chairman, Arthur William Dunn of the same Bureau compiled the *Report*, and the *Report* was published in 1916 as *Bulletin, 1916, No. 28*, of that Bureau. With the advantages of a government document the *Report* was widely circulated and thus the social studies movement began.

In the preface the chairman praised the compiler for "pioneer service," and in the body of the document the compiler frequently admitted that he was reporting pioneer recommendations. Precedents and authorities were cited but they were strictly contemporary American precedents and authorities. There was one six-line paragraph which had appeared in Hinsdale's *How to Study and Teach History* (p. 43) as long ago as 1893. But the compiler found this paragraph without quotation marks in a course of study published in 1915 and credited it (p. 10) to the later source without suspecting its antiquity. The Committee took as a fundamental principle (p. 11) the following quotation from John Dewey:

"We are continually uneasy about the things we adults know, and are afraid the child will never learn them unless they are drilled into

him before he has any intellectual use for them. If we could really believe that attending to the needs of present growth would keep the child and teacher alike busy, and would also provide the best possible guarantee of the learning needed in the future, transformation of educational ideals might soon be accomplished, and other desirable changes would largely take care of themselves."

Except for the "guarantee of the learning needed in the future," the Committee might also have quoted Rousseau:

"A man must know many things which seem useless to a child, but need the child learn, or can he indeed learn all that the man must know? Try to teach the child what is of use to a child, and you will find that it takes all his time. Why urge him to studies of an age he may never reach, to the neglect of those studies which meet his present needs. 'But,' you ask, 'will it not be too late to learn what he ought to know when the time comes to use it?' I cannot tell . . ." (*Emile*, *op. cit.*, 141).

Having accepted Dr. Dewey's principle, the Committee, on the same page, advised that "for effective social training in the high school more consideration must be given to its organic continuity with the work of the elementary school in the same field." Assuming provision "for the social aspect of education in Grades I-VI of the elementary school," the Committee proposed two cycles in continuation, as follows:

Junior cycle (years VII-IX).	Senior cycle (years X-XII).
Geography.	European history.
European history.	American history.
American history.	Problems of democracy —
Civics.	social, economic, and political.

This grouping (p. 12) was "based chiefly upon the practical consideration that large numbers of children complete their schooling with the sixth grade and another large contingent with the eighth and ninth grades." Yet, on the following page, there is a hint of apology for a course published in 1915 on the ground that it may be inadequate "from the point of view of the pupil's future social efficiency."

"Organic continuity" based chiefly on future contingencies, with each step a preparation for the next step and designed to be

complete at different stages for pupils who drop out before the end, or any other concession to "the pupil's future social efficiency," may seem inconsistent with the principle of "attending to the needs of present growth." In the first place, however, the Committee assumed prevision of "the needs of present growth" at different stages and, in the second place, could "not emphasize too strongly its belief" that the courses proposed should be "carefully adjusted" to local and current circumstances." Uniformity was not desired. (p. 13.)

History was to be broken up into topics or problems. (p. 37.) This would make possible a treatment "unhampered by chronological and geographical limitations." (p. 36.) Chronology was admitted to be "of the very essence of history," but for a pupil to study "'ancient' history this year, 'medieval' history next year, and 'modern' history the year following" was declared an antiquated principle of organization. (p. 48.) Dr. Dewey, requoted on "attending to the needs of present growth" (p. 40), and James Harvey Robinson, quoted on the unsolved problem of determining "what conditions and institutions shall be given the preference" (p. 43), led the Committee to suggest in italics that "*the selection of a topic in history and the amount of attention given to it should depend . . . chiefly upon the degree to which such topic can be related to the present life interests of the pupil, or can be used by him in his present processes of growth.*" The Committee called this "a new and most important factor in the problem." (p. 44.) At the close of the eighteenth century it was an old factor.

The "present life interests of the pupil" did not mean what the pupil would himself think of as interesting. The design was to bring the pupil into contact with such current conditions, problems, and events as seemed at the moment important to curriculum makers and teachers. It was assumed throughout that the present problems of adult society were the present problems of the pupil. The content of history, like the content of other social studies, was to be determined by present problems, a bit here and a bit there, taken out as circumstances might call for it.

With all the emphasis upon the immediate present, it may seem strange that the Committee scarcely touched the greatest fact of

the time — the war in Europe, which was already dragging us into its vortex. "Shall we teach the war?" was a burning question in schools.¹ Here was an opportunity for a full illustration of the Committee's principles, and all that was done with it was to suggest a comparison with the War of 1812 so obvious that the dullest teacher of the War of 1812 must have thought of it. (pp. 44-45.)

The war was already deeply affecting the teaching of history both in Europe and in America. In Europe outbursts of patriotism similar to those of a hundred years before quickly brought the issues into classrooms. Each country used history to justify itself and its allies. In the United States, during the period of neutrality, children in many schools reflected the views of their parents so violently that references to the war in classrooms were either discouraged or forbidden. But outside of classrooms it was discovered rather early that while Americans were in general pro-French, they were at the same time anti-English. An explanation of anti-English feeling was found in our teaching of the American Revolution, and suggestions were made for the revision of the American Revolution.² After we entered the war, friendship between the United States and Great Britain loomed on both sides of the Atlantic as one of the most important things in the world, and history for American schools was insistently called upon to promote it. In numberless speeches the unhappy differences between eighteenth century Americans and eighteenth century Englishmen disappeared. Even eighteenth century Americans disappeared and there remained only Englishmen living on opposite sides of the Atlantic, Englishmen with common interests, common traditions, common aspirations, and common grievances against a bad king. This kind of American Revolution found its way into some textbooks produced during the war and was reflected in some revisions of old textbooks. It was not altogether new. There were American textbooks published before 1914 which set forth fairly the English point of view and treated

¹ See McCorkle, Charles E., "Instruction in City Schools Concerning the War" *Pedagogical Seminary*, March, 1915, pp. 1-26.

² See for example *The American Revolution in Our School Text-Books*, by Altschul, Charles, New York, 1917.

the conflict without American rancor. The war also made itself felt in American textbooks on European history. Before 1914 the nineteenth century had been presented largely as aftermath of the French Revolution. The war of 1914 had scarcely begun when the point of view shifted and textbook writers on conditions after 1814 were shaping materials with reference to the great World War. Textbook writers seemed to be more alive to the greatest issue of an immediate present than the Committee on the Social Studies.

When peace came, educational idealists in various countries saw in the League of Nations an impetus to broader and less prejudiced views of history for schools. A European commission, reporting in 1923 on afterwar school books in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Italy, and Bulgaria, found some encouragement for international understanding and good will in histories for secondary schools. But many histories and many other books for elementary schools were found to be inculcating an intense and narrow patriotism that sought special inspiration in the violent prejudices and bitter hatreds of the war and the grievances left by the Treaty of Versailles.¹

The German Republic in its reconstruction of education approached the American system of local freedom. General principles were laid down but their application was as elastic as local needs. The general principle for history was that instruction should begin with the local community, that throughout it should emphasize the life of the *people*, their work and play, their occupations and industries, their thoughts, feelings, and actions, their problems, and not, as in the old programs, the doings of *rulers*. With life in the present as the starting point and goal, programs as varied as our social studies programs, and strongly resembling them, began to displace systematic courses in history, sometimes with enthusiasm, often with angry resignation. Karstädt, in a work on educational tendencies which in 1925 reached its thirteenth edition, wrote in his preface of 1919: "We have always commanded too much in Germany, now we have commanded our-

¹ *Enquête sur les Livres Scolaires d'après Guerre*, Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, Paris, 1923.

selves to death.”¹ Some new textbooks in history continued to treat the Hohenzollern Empire in the old spirit and found scant consolation in the Republic. In the new régime one book for upper gymnasium classes saw only that a workman saddler had taken the place of the most glorious of monarchs, and one book for elementary grades saw only that the Empire, “that proud creation of Prince Bismarck,” had become, “after 48 years, a Republic with a president at its head.”² In books on the teaching of history there was, however, evidence of wide interest in making history for schools scientific. “Die Wahrheit über alles!” (truth above all) was proclaimed as the unquestionable ideal for schools.³ But the Hitler régime scoffed at the whole system of education devised under the Republic. The freedom and liberalism which had been guaranteed by the Constitution of 1919 were decried as Marxist. In the criticism of history for secondary schools, there were echoes of the early nineteenth century. Many pupils, it was said, were learning more about foreign countries than about their own Fatherland. Suggestions for history textbooks issued by the Prussian Ministry in July, 1933, emphasized “the national idea as contrasted with the international whose slimy poison has for more than a century actually threatened to devour the German soul.” But the German soul was Nordic and must recognize the Nordic Race throughout history as blood brothers. This race was to be held up as responsible for civilization in India, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and elsewhere, and always decay had followed intermixture with other races. “At all levels textbooks must interweave the idea of hero in its German expression, associated with the idea of the leader in our own day.” To discredit the Republic and to glorify the Nazi Revolution, there was to be particular emphasis upon the last two decades. “Objectivity,” said *Die Deutsche Schule* in its issue of September, 1933, “is one of the numerous fallacies of liberalism. . . . We will never approach

¹ Karstädt, Otto, *Methodische Strömungen der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1925.

² Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–177.

³ Schremmer, Wilhelm, *Der Neue Geschichtsunterricht*, Berlin, 1920, p. 47. For further illustration of a scientific spirit, see Dienstbach, Wilhelm M., *Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Arbeitsschule*, Frankfurt am Main, 1922, and the treatment of history in Karstädt, *op. cit.*

history impartially but as Germans. . . . We care nothing about an insipid enumeration of 'objective facts'; we want a historical science for Germans."¹ In numerous publications the war instinct was defended and singled out as a special aim in the teaching of history. In every way possible, history in Germany must teach the necessity and glory of race purity, militarism, and the totalitarian state and thus assist in training the masses to accept without question the will of the leader.¹

In Russia the Soviet Revolution threw history out of the school curriculum and substituted for it indoctrination in the principles and practice of sovietism. This furnished on a large scale a perfect example of a social studies program determined wholly by the present and designed to aid in the building of a new social order. The aim, as in the French Revolution, was to bury the past and forget it. But, as in the French Revolution, the attempt failed. In December, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party criticized very severely the quality of the work in elementary and secondary schools, and in August, 1932, after a careful survey of the entire school system, resolved that a return to subject boundaries was the first imperative need. In 1933 geography and history came back as separate subjects, and a large number of textbooks in ancient and medieval history appeared. During the next three years several decisions were directed against "the substitutions of abstract sociological schemes for a coherent exposition of general history and calling for the making of new history textbooks scientifically presenting factual material in a strictly chronological order." At the same time severe criticism was passed upon the project method and the Dalton Plan. Attempts to make the project method the basis of all the work of the schools had, it was declared, actually led to the ruin of the schools. In geography and history, textbooks are now supplied with regional variants and supplements and teachers are required to use the prescribed textbooks.²

¹ Kandel, I. L., in *Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, 1934, pp. 470, 473, 479, 480-488.

² *Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, 1934, 1937.

In Italy the Fascist Revolution magnified the importance of history by proclaiming a return to ancient Roman ideals, and history for schools was called upon to link those ideals with the ideals of the Mussolini régime. As existing textbooks did not serve that purpose, writers were set at work to produce the kind of history which would serve that purpose. The old books were then found to be so inadequate that, pending the completion of new books, history was dropped from the school curriculum. The Fascist organization of education is fully set forth in the Educational Charter, adopted early in 1939 by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party.¹

A fundamental part of Fascism is of course a contempt for democracy. "Fascism," says Mussolini, "combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology, and repudiates it, whether in its theoretical premises or in its practical application. Fascism denies that the majority, by the simple fact that it is a majority, can direct human society; it denies that numbers alone can govern by means of a periodical consultation, and it affirms the immutable, beneficial, and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently levelled through the mere operation of a mechanical process such as universal suffrage. The democratic régime may be defined as from time to time giving the people the illusion of sovereignty, while the real sovereignty lies in the hands of other concealed and irresponsible forces. . . ." ²

In France the educational system was subjected to considerable reorganization, but the history program of 1902 remained substantially unchanged. A document prepared for the Carnegie Inquiry concerning examinations summed up the spirit in which history was taught. Speaking for normal schools, this document declared: "Of all subjects taught in school, history with morals and civics can most firmly unite the wills of the French nation. The normal schools would fail in this first duty, if their students, for want of instruction in history inspired by a truly national feeling, should begin their careers without love of the French

¹ For a translation of the Charter, see Kandel, I. L., "Education in Italy," in *The Educational Forum*, January, 1940, pp. 206-212.

² Quoted by Professor Kandel at the end of his article, p. 212.

genius." Speaking for history in secondary schools, the same document declared: "To give the student an exact idea of the successive civilizations and of the progress accomplished in the course of centuries and a precise knowledge of the formation and development of France; to show the actions of the world upon our country and of our country upon the world; to make use of the comparison with foreign countries in order to enlighten his judgment regarding ourselves; to teach him to practice toward other countries the justice which is due them; to enlarge his mental horizon and finally to leave him, with the knowledge of the conditions of his country and of the world, the clear notion of his duties as a Frenchman and as a man; this is the role of history teaching in education. . . ." ¹

In England a considerable number of school programs showed interest in the principle of continuity in an approach to the course idea as distinguished from the subjects idea. Modern history received more general attention. Some schools tried the Dalton plan. Some schools had programs resembling our social studies programs but usually avoided controversial issues of the present. There were experiments with the project method. In recent discussion the idea of development has been emphasized. Scholarship has in general been less subject to patriotic bias than on the Continent and has included among its aims the teaching of history as a method of arriving at truth and as training in the weighing of evidence. But the utility of historical instruction in English schools is still widely questioned, and its rank in English education is far below its rank on the Continent.²

In the United States peace brought a reaction against history as a stimulus to friendship with the English. There were protests against the kind of American Revolution found in some textbooks. If the colonists had no real grievance against Great Britain, both the glory of their going to war and the distinction of being

¹ *Atlas de l'Enseignement en France* prepared by the Commission française pour l'Enquête Carnegie sur les Examens et Concours en France, translation in *Educational Year Book*, op. cit., 1934, pp. 169, 116.

² See Shropshire, Olive E., *The Teaching of History in English Schools*, New York, 1936, and English periodical, *History*, July, 1928, pp. 127-130; June, 1937, pp. 34-45; and December, 1937, pp. 219-227.

descended from them would naturally be somewhat dimmed. Patriotic societies, newspapers, school boards, and state legislatures worked together to restore the reputation of the Fathers of the Republic. In a similar spirit of reverence for the American past and with a desire to perpetuate its ideals, topics other than the American Revolution came under scrutiny and textbooks that fell below standards thus set up were severely attacked. Scrutiny was not confined to textbooks on American history. It was extended to American textbooks on European history. Many Americans were sensitive not only to the treatment of the United States in textbooks on European history, but to the treatment of some European countries. In parts of the country lists were made of offending textbooks and school boards voted to ban such textbooks from the schools.¹

In the meantime the social studies movement acquired new force and soon led to a confusion greater than that reported by the Committee of Seven in 1899. The general spirit had reached some American colleges during the war and after the war had borne fruit in introductory courses in "contemporary civilization." In one college with a course of this type, freshmen labelled the course "Chaos 4." School programs in the social studies actually approximated chaos both in their diversity of labels and in their widely different combinations of materials. There was a tendency to adapt contemporary civilization to the special needs of each community. This was in line, though rarely acknowledged, with the suggestion of the Committee on the Social Studies. William G. Kimmel, after examining programs in the social studies for junior high schools in 55 cities and for senior high schools in 43 cities, and after visiting 41 schools in 13 cities,

¹ For examples, see the following:

New York City Board of Education, *Report of the Committee To Investigate Charges against Certain History Textbooks in Use in Public Schools of the City of New York, 1922*, 176 pp.

Gorman, John J., *Report of Histories now in use in the Public Schools of Chicago, 1927*, 13 pp.

Miller, Charles G., *Treason to American Tradition . . . a study of eight altered school histories*, Los Angeles, 1922, 46 pp.

Miller, Charles G., *The Poisoned Loving-cup; United States School Histories Falsified through Pro-British Propaganda in Sweet Name of Amity*, Chicago, 1928, 208 pp.

wrote in 1932: "One of the features of current curriculum making seems to be the formulation of programs and courses which are different from those developed elsewhere."¹

Curriculum making had become a specialty. To a scholar in any field such a specialty might appear rather broad. But curriculum specialists seemed to be quite emancipated from the humility of the scholar. At a faculty meeting of university scholars in 1933 an economist of international reputation declared: "We economists do not yet know what caused the depression and until we find out it is idle to talk of cures. We are merely skating on the surface. We do not get down to fundamentals. Only one economist ever got down to fundamentals. That was Karl Marx, and he was wrong." A few days later at a faculty meeting of educators a professor of educational reconstruction declared: "The economists have fallen down on the depression. It is time that we educators took hold. It is all very simple if you think about it a little." With the advantage of some special training in psychology and in a philosophy of education in which Rousseau and Pestalozzi should often be quoted with respect, curriculum specialists have been able to avoid the "narrowness" of "subject-matter specialists" and to direct, with enviable assurance, the construction of programs in any field of education.

"Education for a changing world" became a slogan and intensified the pioneer spirit so characteristic of educational reform. Historians had for a long time been writing about a changing world, and Vives as early as 1531 had met the challenge of a changing world in his treatise on education. But the changes that came with the World War were so great and so rapid as to seem without precedent. A situation conceived to be unique, as if every situation in history were not unique and as if there were no continuity in history, naturally invited "frontier thinking" and soon called into action a host of "frontier thinkers."² These

¹ *Instruction in the Social Studies, Bulletin, 1932, No. 17*, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, p. 96.

² As a child the author lived in a frontier community in the Middle West and he still remembers that it was not etiquette to inquire into the past of a frontiersman. He has learned through long experience that, among frontier thinkers in education,

thinkers, while turning their backs squarely and often abusively on education as it was, advanced no new principles of education. A leading educational philosopher announced in 1933 that any philosophy of education more than five years old was antiquated. Yet either Rousseau or Pestalozzi could have told him that his fundamental principle, the sovereignty of the child, was rather more than five years old. Such terms as "correlation" and "concentration" gave way to "fusion" and "integration," but resulted in the main only in a grouping of subjects as "general mathematics," "general science," and "the social studies," — in effect an attempt at a narrower correlation than that of the nineteenth century, and even as such often defeated by successions of "units" so unrelated as to suggest subject boundaries more artificial than the boundaries between the larger subjects which were being eliminated.

The American Historical Association through committee after committee had kept watch over the social studies movement and had made some suggestions. But leadership had plainly passed to militant educational reformers largely unhampered by scholarship in any of the social studies, apparently unaware of educational precedents, and armed with old principles which were assumed to be original and new and which to a large educational public seemed original, new, and incontrovertible. Soviet Russia adopted the principles and after outrunning the United States in their application found the results so bad that, as noted above, subject boundaries were restored. The social studies movement made, and is still making, some impression upon education in other countries, but since the failure of the movement in Russia its largest and most conspicuous stage has been the United States.

The social studies have been variously defined, and just what they include is still in dispute. "The social studies," according to the Committee of 1916, "are understood to be those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to men as members of social groups."

It is not etiquette to inquire into the past of education. Wesley has described this attitude as "The Besetting Sin of Pedagogy." See *The Social Studies*, March, 1936, pp. 165-168.

(*Report*, p. 9.) Under this statement the Committee included geography, history, civics, and "problems of democracy — social, economic, and political." But teachers of other subjects denied the right thus to restrict the term "social," and from the sum of their arguments it appeared that every school subject had social implications which made it a social study. To the expression "the social sciences," often used as an equivalent for "the social studies," there was scarcely any objection, but Wesley has recently emphasized a distinction. "The social studies," he maintains, "are the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes," and he would use only the name "social studies" for such parts of the social sciences as are included in a school curriculum.¹ Usage of course must determine the validity of this distinction, but if there is logic in it, we should perhaps devise a special name for each of the social sciences when "simplified for pedagogical purposes."

The expression "social studies" proved so convenient that it rapidly acquired general currency in American discussions of education, and by 1929 was so well established that a committee of the American Historical Association became the Commission on the Social Studies. In the discussions within this Commission and in the publications that followed, the expression "social sciences" was, however, used as freely as "social studies."

Before the appointment of the Commission on the Social Studies, important preparatory work in bringing together scholars and educators representing different points of view had already been done under the leadership of Max Farrand, one of the first of prominent American historians to see the need of such coöperation. Acting for the Commonwealth Fund, Dr. Farrand financed and guided several committees and other enterprises, including J. M. Gambrill's survey of selected curriculum experiments. Important preparatory work had also been done by Edgar Dawson, whose *History Inquiry* led directly to the appointment of the Commission on the Social Studies. Further guidance was available in the experience of committees charged with the investigation of other school subjects, especially the far-reaching

¹ Wesley, Edgar Bruce, *Teaching the Social Studies*, New York, 1937, pp. 4-6.

investigation of the modern foreign languages. Aided by this background, and generously financed by the Carnegie Corporation, the Commission on the Social Studies called into service one of the most remarkable assemblages of talent in the history of American education. Pages would be required merely to name the scholars, educational administrators, and teachers who at various times either served as members or contributed in other ways. Among them were outstanding specialists in every phase of the problems to be considered. Seeking a chairman, the American Historical Association found in A. C. Krey historical scholarship, years of experience in teaching teachers, a wide acquaintance with the educational literature relating to the social sciences, and a vision of activities that would give a sympathetic hearing to every shade of opinion. He was appointed and piloted the proceedings with a tact and efficiency largely responsible for holding the Commission together through five difficult years.

Sixteen volumes were authorized by the Commission for publication, but fourteen of them were accepted merely as individual contributions, and only two, *A Charter for the Social Sciences* and *Conclusions and Recommendations*, set forth the views of the Commission as a whole. The *Charter* was drafted by Charles A. Beard and in its final form bore the stamp of extended criticism and suggestions. The *Conclusions and Recommendations*, drafted by Charles A. Beard and George S. Counts, were subjected to protracted and searching examination, revised to meet conflicting views, and laid before the public with the following signatures:

Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, Avery O. Craven, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Henry Johnson, A. C. Krey, Leon C. Marshall, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner.

Four members, Frank A. Ballou, Edmund E. Day, Ernest Horn, and Charles E. Merriam, declined to sign, and Dr. Bowman signed with reservations well worthy of consideration.

The procedure in formulating the *Charter* and the *Conclusions and Recommendations* went far beyond precedent in the accumulation of data and in analysis and interpretation. But the three fundamental factors which were in turn examined and balanced

against each other — scholarship, the social environment, and the mental abilities of the pupils to be instructed — had long been recognized and balanced in treatises on the teaching of history. A notable example was furnished by Karl Müller in 1835. Both the *Charter* and the *Conclusions and Recommendations* declared scholarship fundamental. To scholars, this may seem mere platitude. Its significance lay in a drift of the social studies movement. The doctrine that scholarship has no rights which pedagogy is bound to respect had again reached serious proportions.¹ The Commission granted that scholarship could only condition, it could not determine school programs. Both the *Charter* and *Conclusions and Recommendations* looked to the social environment, within limits imposed by pupil intelligence, for a mandate under which to select the materials of instruction, subject, however, to a certain respect for organization within the separate disciplines, a respect amounting to repudiation of the fusion idea as then exemplified in various courses of study, but carrying no plea for rigid boundaries.² Indeed, the Commission left even the naming of the separate social disciplines somewhat uncertain. In the *Charter*, the separate disciplines are nowhere formally enumerated. In *Conclusions and Recommendations* they embrace history, economics, politics, sociology, geography, anthropology, and psychology. In the special volume on *The Nature of the Social Sciences*, by Dr. Beard, psychology seems to be omitted, a somewhat different terminology is introduced, and much of the material suggested bears no special name.

The volume by which the work of the Commission has been mainly judged has naturally been *Conclusions and Recommendations*. The findings, as here set forth, are grouped in eight chapters in the form of numbered propositions too brief to be always entirely clear, too dynamic to be always free from an appearance of dogmatism far from intentional, and too general to reveal the extended analysis on which they were based and to which the fourteen volumes of individual responsibility and many other

¹ See for example Snedden, David, "The Hurtful Influence of Scholars on Useful Educations" in *School and Society*, February 1, 1930.

² *Charter*, pp. 20-21; *Conclusions and Recommendations*, pp. 6-7.

special works on various phases of the problems had contributed. For more concrete expression, a syllabus of what to teach and how to teach it would have been necessary. As a sample of procedure, "but without special or exclusive endorsement," the propositions do indicate in broad outline a full program, proceeding from the community in the lowest grades to a world survey in the high school, with accompanying principles and suggestions for guidance in the selection and use of materials. The actual topics and the actual selection of material are, however, left wholly to those who may think such a program desirable. There were members who felt that the Commission should offer more specific guidance. But anything approaching a formal syllabus, if successful, might, it was feared, lead to a new rigidity and thus defeat, or at least obscure, the real purpose of the volume, which was to instill principles and not to install a set program. Read in the light of this purpose, it is doubtful if any other educational document of equal brevity ever grasped more firmly difficult fundamental issues, or set them forth more fearlessly, or achieved a higher level of general intelligibility.

The chief controversy within the Commission arose in framing for this volume the mandate of our rapidly changing environment. Here principles which had passed unchallenged in the *Charter* were applied in ways that disturbed some members of the Commission and have since divided critics. The basic concept, many times repeated in the volume, is that we are passing from an economy of individualism to an economy of collectivism, "that the actually integrating economy of the present day is the fore-runner of a consciously integrated society in which individual economic actions and individual property rights will be altered and abridged" (p. 17), and that this "promises to free the ordinary individual from the long working day, exhausting labor and economic insecurity, thus providing him with opportunities for personal development far greater and richer than those enjoyed under the individualistic economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." (p. 34.) "The implications for education are . . . (a) . . . a complete and frank recognition that the old order is passing, that the new order is emerging, and that knowl-

edge of realities and capacity to coöperate are indispensable to the development and even the perdurance of American society; and (b) the rational use of the new leisure requires a cultural equipment which will give strength and harmony to society instead of weakness and discord." (p. 35.) Acceptance of these implications, it is held, "will make possible the most complete realization, under the changed conditions of life, of the ideals of American democracy and cultural liberty: the recognition of the moral equality and dignity of all men; the abolition of class distinctions and special privileges; the extension to every individual, regardless of birth, class, race, religion, or economic status, of the opportunity for the fullest development of his creative capacities, his spiritual qualities, his individuality; the encouragement of social inquiry, inventiveness, and tolerance; the protection of all liberties essential to defense against the exercise of brute power; the development of resistance to appeals to racial and religious passion and prejudice. . . ." (pp. 37-38.)

In this dream of social perfection the position of teachers of the social sciences in school is elevated to a plane of knowledge and responsibility nowhere yet attained, but the steps in the making of such teachers are vigorously outlined and lead to the optimistic conclusion that "forces operating in industrial society make it easily possible for the schools to secure intelligent and thoroughly competent social science teachers — teachers of high scholarship, courage, and vision, and inspired by a love of knowledge and of mankind." (p. 118.)

The social studies movement had from the first enlisted the interest, and to a great extent the sympathy, of school superintendents, and it was largely through their influence that the movement spread so fast and so far. The office of superintendent had by 1916 become professionalized. Special training in psychology, the philosophy of education, and the principles of administration had given outstanding occupants of the office a new competence in dealing with school problems and with the public which held them responsible for the success or failure of school systems. As a result the Yearbooks of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association had be-

come documents of prime importance to students of American education. Under a resolution adopted in 1932, the Department appointed a Commission on the Social Studies Curriculum. Counting the chairman, Superintendent C. B. Glenn, the Commission consisted of two superintendents, two professors of education (one of them was George S. Counts), one assistant professor of education, one professor of secondary education, one professor of educational psychology, two directors of curriculum research, and Charles A. Beard. The *Report*, published in the Yearbook of 1936, is a scholarly, tolerant, and well-balanced survey of current American theory and practice in the teaching of the social studies. It contains some analysis of modern schools of psychology, a philosophy of education in general and of the social studies in particular, statistical tables, a collection of typical current programs, critical comments on current methods of selecting and arranging materials, on the grading of materials, and on teaching procedure, some allusions, not always well based, to the development of the social studies in schools, and suggestions for the making of social studies programs, which, in their attitude toward history seem, on the whole, to invite an approach through present problems. But many of the main conclusions are in complete accord with those submitted to the American Historical Association by its Commission on the Social Studies and are, in fact, based directly upon the publications of the latter Commission. It will of course be noticed that Charles A. Beard and George S. Counts were members of both Commissions.

The social studies movement had brought complications similar to those of an earlier day in the management of college entrance requirements. The College Entrance Examination Board had for years felt the need of some authoritative agreement concerning desirable changes in examinations within the field of the social studies. As no such agreement had appeared, the Board in 1934 created a Commission on History with Conyers Read as chairman. From the *Report*, published in 1936, it appeared that this Commission, like the Committee of Seven, found that it could not deal with the question of examinations without raising the larger question of the subject-matter desirable

and suitable for secondary schools. It was agreed that inquiry must not be limited to "history in the old-fashioned, conventional sense of the term" but must include "the claim of the other social studies (political science, economics, etc.) to a place in the secondary school curriculum and in the College Entrance Examinations." Opinions of the problem were sought "partly by personal conference with many secondary school teachers in the social studies and with other interested persons, partly by a questionnaire mailed" to 250 schools and 75 colleges and universities. The results disclosed such diversity of opinion that few generalizations could be drawn. The Commission defined history as "*the study of man in society from his dim beginnings to the present day*" and regarded the historical approach as "the easy and natural approach to the so-called social studies," but took account also of "a considerable body of opinion, particularly in the public schools, which regards the functional approach . . . as of fundamental importance." The outcome was the recommendation of four units in history to serve as "the basis of any curriculum of the social studies in secondary schools, and the basis, therefore, of any examination set to test this curriculum."

The units were:

1. Ancient and mediaeval history of Western Europe from the beginnings to the beginning of the sixteenth century.
2. Modern European history.
3. American history.
4. Contemporary civilization.

Examinations were to be comprehensive, embracing a combination of at least two units, except that for five years the single unit examination in American history was to be retained. The combinations recommended for comprehensive examinations were unit 1 + 2, or 2 + 3, or 3 + 4, with an allowance of two to three units of credit for each combination, and unit 1 + 2 + 3, or 2 + 3 + 4, with an allowance of three units of credit for each combination.

Passing to the question of content, the Commission proposed an approach through "the fundamental problems which have faced man in his social evolution." These problems, formulated

in the categories which Leon C. Marshall had worked out in his "social process" approach, were to determine what to teach about "any civilization, east or west, at any age, prehistoric, ancient, mediaeval or modern." Historically, this was a new approach. There had been many approaches through problems of the present. The natural, easy, and common approach had, in fact, always been through something that seemed to man interesting or important in his present. So human beings began their earliest reconstruction of the past. It was the approach of Herodotus and is still the approach of many historians as well as of many educators. Dr. Marshall's framing of universals in the "social process" as guides to the selection of materials for the social studies was a different venture.¹ The distinction may be somewhat subtle, for it has apparently been overlooked by some critics of the Commission. But to start with problems which seem to us interesting or important in the present is clearly not the same as to start with problems conceived as beginning with human society and as persisting through all the changing ages. What the Commission meant is shown by detailed analysis in an appendix to the *Report*.

The narrowing of the field to Western Europe and the United States was a backward step, a return to a provincialism which had partially given way to world history. But within the restricted field there was to be a broad view of civilization as a whole, and the historical ideas of development and continuity were to be kept constantly in mind.

Twelve names were attached to the *Report*, three of them with qualifications. One member declined to sign.²

The Department of Superintendence Commission on the Social Studies Curriculum reported that "prior to 1925 fewer than fifteen hundred courses of study had been published in the

¹ Dr. Marshall, in collaboration with his daughter Rachel Marshall Goetz, set forth his "social process approach" in *Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies*, listed as *Part XIII: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, New York, 1936.

² The full *Report* appeared in *The Social Studies*, December, 1936, pp. 546-566. In Appendix B, Tyler Kepner, the member who declined to sign the *Report*, sums up his objections. In a paper printed in *Social Education*, February, 1937, Mr. Kepner set forth more fully his ideas. A reply to Mr. Kepner by Conyers Read appeared in the same number.

United States," while since 1925, "over thirty-five thousand courses of study have reached one curriculum laboratory," and that "these probably represent less than 50 per cent of the total number in the country." In this increased and increasing activity, programs for the social studies have outnumbered more than two to one their nearest competitor, programs for the language arts.¹ Among the most notable contributions of recent date is a regional program prepared at the University of Minnesota under the direction of A. C. Krey in collaboration with colleagues in that university and representative schools and teachers of the region. A detailed syllabus filling hundreds of type-written pages has been worked out for thirteen grades, thus extending one year beyond the usual high school period, and has been tested under supervision in a number of schools. It provides a continuous course in the social studies, each grade preparing for the next from the first grade to the end. The approach is both historical and functional, with constant provision for utilizing the direct experiences of pupils. Professor Krey in setting forth the principles behind the program has covered briefly, but in language intelligible to any teacher, the whole range of school instruction in the social studies, and his summary of the program itself makes it applicable to any community in the land.²

In the changing programs of the last twenty-five years, there has been, in the United States, a general decline in ancient history as a separate subject, and English history, as a separate subject, has almost disappeared. The two-year program in European history or world history has kept alive some interest in the Middle Ages. American history has in many cases been removed from the twelfth grade, which was once its almost undisputed place, and now often appears in the eleventh grade. Courses in problems of democracy have won wide recognition. Economics and sociology,

¹ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, *The Social Studies Curriculum, Fourteenth Yearbook*, 1936, p. 344.

² Krey, A. C., *A Regional Program for the Social Studies*, New York, 1938. For the summary of the program see pp. 58-59. The volume includes "A Survey of the Social Life of the Tuttle School District" in Minneapolis, by Fay Rogers. Alma M. Jensen, field director of this program, describes results in her article, "On trial — a regional program in Minnesota," *Social Education*, November, 1939, pp. 554-560.

along with government, have become conspicuous in programs for the twelfth grade, and sociology seems to be replacing history in primary grades. The topical treatment of history, anticipated by the McMurry type studies, has found in units of instruction something approaching general dogma in the treatment of a great variety of subject matter. Guidance and orientation programs abound. Organization around "controlling themes," somewhat after the manner of the old concentration programs, is commanding attention. Courses in the teaching of history and in the teaching of the social studies in general and treatises for the guidance of teachers in these fields have multiplied and expanded, sometimes as efforts to follow the educational "band-wagon" and sometimes as efforts to improve conditions created by the "band-wagon." In the teaching of history, there has been increasing emphasis upon recent times. This was foreshadowed in the United States at least as long ago as 1891, when Allen Thomas published the first edition of his textbook in United States history for elementary schools. No later writer has gone farther than Thomas in compressing the colonial period and expanding the later period. In Europe there were precedents reaching back to Christian Weise, who in 1676 did for boys in Saxony what Harriet E. Tuell in *The Study of the Nations* did for American pupils in 1919. Emphasis upon recent times has extended in the United States to a vast increase in the study of current events, but that, too, was an old idea in Europe. The greatest change may seem to be the increasing emphasis upon social and economic conditions, but this is perhaps not quite so great as much recent discussion might suggest. *Kulturgeschichte* had made considerable progress in European schools before the close of the eighteenth century. fell off after the Napoleonic wars, was revived after 1860, and after 1890 became the kind of history almost universally taught on the continent of Europe in secondary schools. In the United States Allen Thomas in 1891 applied effectively the social and economic point of view in his textbook on United States history, and George Park Fisher, in his *Outlines of Universal History*, based upon Weber's *Weltgeschichte*, had already approximated the German conception of *Kulturgeschichte*. Our recent textbooks

have, however, shown greater skill in weaving social and economic material into the body of the text. There has, moreover, come to be a more distinct recognition that history for schools should be the history of civilization, and some textbooks have adopted that title or an equivalent of it, an interesting reminder of the place once held as a college course by Guizot's *History of Civilization*. The whole question of what to teach in secondary schools has been complicated beyond all precedent by the tremendous increase in high school enrollment.

The Rome-Berlin Axis, Hitler's understanding with Stalin, and events which have happened since Berlin and Moscow crushed Poland will inevitably and profoundly change the spirit and content of school instruction in all conquered countries and will be felt in the educational systems of neutral countries, if any countries can survive as neutrals. A portent of things to come in Europe has appeared in news from France. There in August, 1940, according to the *New York Times*, Marshal Pétain decreed a careful revision of common-school textbooks, with special attention to history books. The aim was of course to turn the affections of children from the Third Republic to the new régime. As a start in that direction, all teachers, at the opening in September of such schools as could open, were to read to their pupils Marshal Pétain's speeches. What was to be done in secondary schools was not reported.¹ Educational reactions to the *Blitzkrieg* had already appeared in the United States. With the unfolding of our defense program of 1940 and the development of searches for Fifth Columns, school books for some time under fire for their critical attitude toward American institutions began suddenly to be thrown out of schools and a great silence fell upon a host of educators who had been spreading in our schools pacifism, anti-militarism, admiration for the great Russian experiment, and revolt against expenditures for our army and navy. Whatever the outcome of the terrible wars now raging in the world, we may confidently expect another world era of educational reconstruction.

¹ *New York Times*, August 25, 1940, p. 8.

THE PROBLEM OF GRADING HISTORY

EARLY advocates of school instruction in history either observed or assumed a natural interest in history on the part of the young. Children, it was said, listened with delight to its tales. "Who indeed," asked Vives in 1531, "does not prick up his ears and arouse his mind if he hears anything which is unusual, great, admirable, beautiful, strong; a noble deed or saying from those stories of which histories are so full?" There are those, he added, who "forget food, drink, and sleep and overcome their natural desires for these necessities to reach the conclusion of the history they are reading." A generation later, teachers were finding that boys would listen with interest to the reading of Sleidanus' *Four Monarchies* even in the presence of food and drink. Comenius in 1632 believed that his kind of history would be as interesting as play. The Oratorians in France soon after 1634 had an extended course in history in actual operation. Weise in 1676 wanted to know why any one should think history too difficult for children and in his devices for making it intelligible and interesting to boys of eight, uncovered, without knowing it, the principle of building upon the personal experience of pupils. In 1762 Rousseau uncovered the same principle and, fully conscious of what he was doing, carried it further, with results which contradicted Weise. Leaving education for *Emile* to be determined by the felt needs of *Emile's* personal experience, Rousseau found no place for history until, at the age of eighteen, *Emile* began to feel the need of reading the human heart, and then the history that he needed turned out to be biography. Young children could, Rousseau admitted, learn the words of history, but only the experience of maturer years could give to the words any real meaning. When Rousseau wrote, there were no doubt schools in which the teaching of history proved little except that

children could learn the words of history. There are still children to whom history means little more than a collection of names and dates. The difficulty seen by Rousseau was real. But that some aspects of history could be made intelligible to pupils, at least as early as the age of eleven or twelve, had been amply demonstrated, and, in *Emile's* approach to history through biography, Rousseau opened a field which later reformers eventually adapted to children of six.

History for schools had begun as a chronological survey, and when it became a continuing study from year to year of the school course, had remained a chronological survey. Ancient history seemed easier to manage than later history, and the effect upon the chronological survey was something like grading. But to have ancient history for beginners only was objectionable, and to defer to the very end of the course the history nearest to the pupil was equally objectionable. Comenius worked out a partial corrective in his topical arrangement. The more radical Weise suggested that the best way to teach history would be to begin with the present and move backward. Basedow and d'Alembert, with deeper conviction, reached the same conclusion. Salzmann in his school began history with a study of the local community. But general practice continued the straight chronological march until modified by the concentric circles arrangement of instruction.

The circles were stages of instruction based upon a study of children which owed its inspiration to Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and through him to Rousseau. Applied to history, the field to be covered was laid out as a whole, and the pupil, always at the center, looked around him over as much of the whole field as his mental stature permitted. In the most elementary stage he could not see very far. In the next stage he was mentally taller and could see farther. In the final stage he was tall enough to see the farthest horizon of the allotted field. In the first circle, instruction usually took the form of biographical stories, either real or imaginary, with little or no attempt to make a connected story. In the next circle, facts already learned were repeated and so joined to new facts as to form a connected narrative. In the final

circle, old facts and new facts rose together from mere narrative to causal relations approximating real continuity. Schools for the children of common people had two or three circles; schools for other children usually had three.

Concentric circles came into full view in Germany about 1820 and proved so effective in German schools that they became a pattern for most of Continental Europe. The results for history were not always satisfactory. The French adopted a concentric circles type of program in history for their secondary schools in 1852 and abandoned it in 1865. There were many variations. The final survey in secondary schools, after covering the field as a whole, might turn back to give special emphasis to the Middle Ages or to ancient history, and end there. Portions of the field might be subject to only one survey. It was then, strictly speaking, the cycles arrangement, as the French called it, rather than the concentric circles arrangement. But in the United States the terms have commonly been used as if they were interchangeable and have been applied to any arrangement for teaching a given field of history at more than one level of instruction.

In the latter sense we have long had circles of history in the United States. We have had American history in the elementary school and American history in the high school. We have had English history in the elementary school and English history in the high school. We have had European history in the elementary school and European history in the high school. With the coming of the junior high school, there was for a time something like the promise of an additional circle. We have also had circles of history within the limits of the elementary school. Some of them have even been concentric. A program published in 1892-1893 for the then usual eight years of the elementary school took the pupil over the field of American history seven times in surveys which constituted, within the European meaning, seven complete concentric circles. That may be said to have established an all-time-world-high for concentric circles.¹

History in concentric circles early invited adverse criticism.

¹ Gordy, W. F., and Twitchell, W. I., *Pathfinder in American History*, Boston, 1892-1893.

In the first place, the arrangement within the circles was still chronological and there were critics who regarded that arrangement as a sin against psychology. In the second place, going over the same facts at different levels, even when the levels were clearly differentiated, inevitably destroyed some of the freshness of history for pupils and often stirred a bored feeling of having had it all before. With such circles as we have had in the United States, this feeling has been accentuated, especially in the repetition of American history, by a general lack of clear differentiation. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was sometimes literally true that pupils taking up American history in the high school had had it all before, for the textbook which they used in the high school was the textbook which they had used in the upper grades of the elementary school. Since 1897 we have had textbooks in American history specifically designed for the high school, but it would be rash to claim for them that they have really differentiated American history for the high school from American history for the upper grades of the elementary school. A certain amount of repetition may in any event be defended. If there are facts in history which it is desirable to fix firmly, repetition is desirable, and if facts are fixed so firmly as to give pupils a sense of mastery, there may be positive joy in repetition. The cure for the boredom of repetition may, therefore, at times be more repetition. This does not imply trespass on the Jesuit motto, *Repetitio mater studiorum*. It does imply that the repetition inseparable from circles or cycles of history, and an essential part of their purpose, may be something better than a necessary evil.

With adverse criticism of the concentric circles arrangement of history came proposals for grading history more in accord with the studies of children and the child psychology made potent by the contributions of Pestalozzi. Embracing Rousseau's ideal of a return to nature, Pestalozzi had begun the simple life by resolving never to read another book. The books which he had already collected were burned. His next step was to buy a farm in his native Switzerland and take up the work of a farmer. Still inspired by Rousseau, he turned, after a few years, to the study

and experimental teaching of children, beginning in 1774 with his own son, then three and a half years old. The outcome was a theory of education which gradually spread throughout the educational world. Pestalozzi emphasized the grading of instruction as a fundamental necessity and laid down principles. All instruction, he insisted, must follow the natural order of the child's development. "Each child," he said, "should be taught that which he has to learn at the time his nature calls for it." Any other order was futile and might be harmful. The principle came directly from Rousseau, but Pestalozzi carried it into real situations and made it seem practical. What to teach and when to teach it could be determined by a study of the child and was apparently decreed by the history of the race, for Pestalozzi believed that the child in his development recapitulates the history of the race — the culture epoch theory. The way to teach anything was to pass from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the near to the remote, and never to break connection with the experiences of real life. On one or more of these principles, sometimes with acknowledgment to Pestalozzi, sometimes associated with other names ranging from Rousseau to John Dewey, and always subject to independent rediscovery, systems of grading history have been founded without much reference to the nature of history. Among the examples have been approaches to history through the community, through biography, through selected topics, through the culture epoch theory, and through the observed tastes and interests of children.

Salzmann had the community idea in 1784. Wilhelm Harnisch, in his *Welikunde*, published in 1817, raised it to axiomatic validity for Germany. Since about 1890 it has often been applied in the United States, especially in attempts to correlate history and geography. With us the first step has commonly been a study of the home and its activities. This has been followed by a study of the school and its activities, and this, in turn, by a study of the local community as a whole, its geography, its industries, its social customs, with stories from local history told along the way or organized as a separate topic and called "local history."

From the pupil's own community the study has turned to neighboring communities, then to communities farther away, and has thus reached organized American history and even organized world history. On the general principle of passing always from the near to the remote, local history has frequently been taught backward and formal American history has frequently begun with at least a glance at the present.

The soundness of using the pupil's immediate environment in the study of history is beyond dispute. This environment determines most of his experience, and experience is the key to any understanding of history. In an important sense, every course in history should, therefore, begin in the community and end in the community, and every lesson in history should begin in the community and end in the community. There should be a constant passing, not only from the near to the remote, but also from the remote to the near. The principle is fundamental, but it is scarcely a principle of grading at all. Unless our concern is merely with the counting of years or miles, the degree of nearness or remoteness can afford no adequate test of difficulty. The question, for example, of whether Socrates or Benjamin Franklin is the more suitable for study by children is scarcely to be answered by an appeal merely to the years or the miles that separate Socrates or Franklin from us.

The topical arrangement of history has been tested for more than a hundred years, sometimes primarily as a system of grading but oftener primarily as a way of securing desirable groupings of facts. As an example of grading, a plan proposed by Haupt in 1841 may be cited. This plan was a conscious attempt to apply the principles laid down by Pestalozzi. It provided that the first year of school history should be devoted to home life, illustrated by scenes from the home life of Romulus, Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Henry IV, and so on; the second year to social life, illustrated by the social conduct of well-known historical characters; the third year to political life, illustrated by reference to great political leaders; the fourth year to religious life, illustrated by reference to great religious leaders; the fifth year to the arts and sciences, illustrated by reference to great artists and scientists;

and the sixth year to a general chronological survey of history. When the *Great Didactic* was published, Haupt might have cited Comenius in support of a topical arrangement followed by a chronological survey.

The topical arrangement as a system of grouping facts has been carried farthest in the United States and has become very familiar through the "units" that now greet us in textbooks, in school programs, and in treatises on the teaching of the social studies. Within history units there is apt to be chronological continuity. Between units the connection may be quite obscure. This is especially true of units determined by things of special interest or importance in the fleeting present. An extreme, but by no means unique, example was furnished by a junior high school in which a unit on "why the United States is the greatest nation in history" was followed by a unit on Greek architecture. Next came a unit on the bonus to soldiers of the World War, and then a biographical unit consisting of about forty names culled from a morning newspaper and ranging back and forth from living celebrities to Napoleon, Bismarck, Martin Luther, and Julius Caesar. Such procedure has of course the merit, if it is a merit, of making life in school much like life outside of school.

The approach to history through biography, as a principle of grading, assumes that the individual in any social group is less complex than the group as a whole. This is no doubt true of the individual treated simply as an individual. But the biographical approach commonly implies so much more than a study of individuals that it may easily cease to be biography and become a study of social groups. So many questions are thus raised that it will be convenient to discuss them in a separate chapter.

The culture epoch theory is old. There were hints of it in the ancient world. The application of the theory to education is relatively new. It began in the eighteenth century, but the full significance of the theory for education was first brought out in a work by Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882), published in 1865. Ziller was interested in the Herbartian principle of *concentration*. This meant a grouping of all the materials of instruction around one central subject. Ziller, selecting history as his central subject,

was led to propose the culture epoch theory as the basis for a complete curriculum and established such a curriculum for the eight years of the practice school connected with his pedagogical seminar in Leipzig. His experiment attracted wide attention. It was chiefly the principle of concentration, or correlation, as it was commonly called in the United States, that interested the educational world, and around that principle a literature sufficient to occupy a lifetime grew up. Some advocates of concentration retained history as the central subject, some used geography, some used general science, some used the social life of the school, and some used current events. Concentration may be regarded as a step in the direction of what some call *fusion* and others call *integration* of school studies.

Concentration was of course possible quite apart from the culture epoch theory but, in the grading of materials, associations with that theory were frequent. And the culture epoch theory could of course be applied quite apart from the principle of concentration and was so applied, especially to history. What it meant for history was summed up very happily by Professor S. S. Laurie when, in 1895, he wrote: "The childhood of history is best for the child, the boyhood of history for the boy, the youthhood of history for the youth, and the manhood of history for the man."¹

In applications of this idea, two different interpretations are discoverable. According to one interpretation, facts are to be so selected and arranged as to keep children at each step of the way occupied with stages of race culture corresponding to the stage which they have themselves attained. Knowing that children in the first three or four grades are primitive beings, that in the fifth and sixth grades they are medieval, and that in the seventh and eighth grades they are becoming modern, the program maker provides primitive culture for pupils in the primitive stage of development, medieval culture for pupils in the medieval stage, and modern culture for pupils in the modern stage. Chronological continuity and geographical unity may be wholly ignored. Facts wholly unrelated to each other may stand side by side. In

¹ *School Review*, IV, 650.

an American program published in 1911 the work of the second grade was outlined as follows: "The early Aryans; life in ancient Egypt; the tent dwellers, nomadic life, period of shepherds, especially among the Hebrews; the early Phoenicians; primitive life among modern Afrikanders, primitive life in the far north; primitive life in Japan, the Philippines, India, Hawaii, etc.; primitive life among the North American Indians; primitive life of the white man in America."¹

The other interpretation of the culture epoch theory as applied to history looks, not to the general cultural stages in the development of the race, but to stages in the development of the historical sense. Assuming that this unfolds in children after the manner of its unfolding in the race, the conclusion is reached that those conceptions of history which came first in the experience of the race should come first also in historical instruction, and that those conceptions of history which came late in the experience of the race should come late also in the history program. The earliest manifestations of the historical sense in the race being expressed in myths, legends, and fables, it follows that the introduction to history in school should be through myths, legends, and fables. As these give way to semi-historical sagas, and these in turn to more or less critical narration, so must the history program change from one to the other on and up to, but not inclusive of, scientific history, a development so recent in the experience of the race as plainly to suggest the "manhood of history." The stage indicated as proper for beginning this kind of instruction has ranged from the kindergarten to the fourth or fifth year of the elementary school, and the rate of progress has varied greatly. Some programs have literally passed in the first four or five years from fable to saga and, in the upper grades of the elementary school, have reached matter-of-fact history. Others have been dominated throughout by the spirit of romance and poetry. "History," according to Professor Laurie, "cannot be reasoned history to a boy; even at the age of seventeen it is only partially so, but it can always be an epic, a drama, and a song." At the beginning of the course outlined by Professor Laurie, with boys of ten, "it is a

¹ Bliss, W. F., *History in the Elementary Schools*, New York, 1911.

story to be told, and the wandering minstrel of old is our model teacher." Even at the end, with boys of eighteen, the historians especially to be commended are apparently Shakespeare, Browning, and the historical novelists.¹

The approach to history through the observed tastes and interests of children had some early precedents in the practice of textbook writers and in the practice of teachers and found some expression in the concentric circles arrangement. Extended studies of children preceded and in part conditioned the culture epoch theory of education, which was of course a formulation of the natural tastes and interests of children. History programs built upon the culture epoch theory seemed to be supported by later studies of children. Such studies were, perhaps, not so conclusive as they seemed. Take, for example, the most notable study of the kind in the United States, that of Mary Sheldon Barnes.² Mrs. Barnes placed before children various types of historical material, observed the reactions of the children, and arrived at conclusions in accord with the culture epoch theory. But a critic may allege that the children's responses, as she reported them, admit of more than one interpretation and that the materials were insufficient to justify generalization. Similar objections may be urged against other studies of the kind, and all observations of children's tastes and interests which lead to the culture epoch theory are now under suspicion because the culture epoch theory has itself been discredited. To hold with the culture epoch theory that modern children at the beginning of their school career are like grown-up savages is now seen to be bad psychology. An adult savage, whatever his stage of culture, is, after all, an adult; and a child, however modern, is, after all, a child. To hold with the culture epoch theory that all peoples in their cultural progress have followed a certain uniform order which can be discovered and defined and that the steps have been in general from the simple to the complex is now seen to be bad history. But, in spite of psychologists and historians, the tradition established by the culture epoch theory still lingers in

¹ *School Review*, IV, 656, 660.

² Barnes, Mary Sheldon, *Studies in Historical Methods*, Boston, 1896.

history programs and, unrecognized as a tradition, is even announced by publishers of new books for children as a new discovery.

A critic may, of course, reject the culture epoch theory and discount all experiments which have been thought to support it and still regard the natural tastes and interests of children as "pedagogical bed-rock." He may believe that history for children should be only what is suggested by the "inner urge" of children. He may even believe that history for children should be what children would work out for themselves if left to their own uninstructed initiative. An ideal history for children would then be, as was suggested years ago, a history written by a child. By the same token, an ideal history for boys would be a history written by a boy, an ideal history for girls would be a history written by a girl, and histories written by college professors should be read by college professors, a fate perhaps at times deserved.

There are other possibilities. "Each child," wrote Pestalozzi, as already quoted, "should be taught that which he has to learn at the time his nature calls for it." It is, then, not children whom we have to teach; it is *each child*. Herein lies the fundamental difficulty in approaching history through observed tastes and interests. In a class of twenty-five children there may be twenty-five kinds of "pedagogical rock." There will certainly be more than one kind of rock. The difficulty has been met in part. In 1884-1885 the present writer attended the "Sauk Centre Academy of Individual Instruction," and there each pupil was free to study anything that he wanted to study. Sinclair Lewis has put Sauk Centre, or Center, on the map, but not its Academy, now a thing of the past. Today we have individual "contracts," individual "projects," and the Dalton Plan. But individual instruction on any large scale is scarcely feasible in public schools as now organized, and the doctrine of natural tastes and interests applied in a generalized history program for generalized children is not quite the doctrine. A generalized program is, however, entirely feasible and relatively easy to construct.

All of the ways of grading history which have thus far been described have "worked" in the sense of providing materials

both intelligible and interesting to children. But all of them together fail to answer the general question: What history is possible for children? In all of them the range of inquiry has been limited at the outset either by the purposes to be served or by a predetermined theory, or by both. Not one of them has recognized that the question of what *can* be done naturally precedes and conditions the question of what *ought* to be done. The selection of materials and the manner of dealing with them must ultimately be determined by educational ends. But, unless we know how wide or how narrow the range of selection really is, there is danger of missing what is best for the promotion of any educational end that may be proposed.

What history is possible for children? All that history deals with can be reduced to four general kinds of phenomena: (1) physical human beings and their physical environment; (2) what human beings did; (3) what human beings said or wrote; (4) what human beings thought and felt — the motives that led them to do or to say. In the varying conditions under which these general kinds of phenomena come before us, there may be some hint of what is possible for children.

Phenomena of the first kind are in many cases represented by things which appeal directly to the senses. The eye can still rest upon a house that George Washington lived in, a hat that Napoleon wore, the food that some Pompeian was about to partake of when the great calamity came, the very features of an ancient Egyptian king. The ear, too, may have its part. The clocks of our grandfathers are still ticking and striking for us; church bells heard in the Middle Ages are still ringing for Europe. The sights and sounds of nature, the odors of wood and field repeat themselves from generation to generation. Where such realities are not accessible, there may be statues, casts, and models, or, at the least, pictures, and the screen in theaters and schools is bringing many of them before the gaze of millions of children.

Phenomena of the second kind can of course never be brought before us in quite the way that physical human beings and their physical environment may be. No one can now actually see or

hear Julius Caesar dictating his *Commentaries*, or Henry IV going to Canossa, or William Penn talking with the Indians. The only actions which can be directly observed now are actions which are in progress now. But many acts habitually performed in the present resemble acts habitually performed in the past — going to school, exchanging greetings, saying mass. Many more can by conscious effort be performed more or less after the manner of former times — kindling a fire with primitive apparatus, spinning with an antiquated wheel, brandishing a tomahawk. An elaborate illustration of this type of reconstruction, whatever the originals might think of it, is furnished by the numerous characters that walk and talk in the historical drama, either on the stage or on the screen.

Phenomena of the third kind come before us in actual words, often in the manuscript in which they were first written down, more often in manuscript copies, most often in print either in the original language or in translation. We can see how the words look; we may be able to pronounce them; we may hear others pronounce them. But words are symbols only, mere signs of past “psychological operations,” operations which must, in a sense, be repeated to arrive at what the words stood for when they were spoken or written.

Phenomena of the fourth kind — thoughts, feelings, motives — come before us only as inferences from the other three kinds of phenomena, inferences from what human beings did and said, inferences from the “looks” which accompanied doings and sayings, inferences from the environment of doings and sayings. Mind readers and other psychic agents have claimed some transfers of actual mental states, and machines have been devised for detecting lies. Further revelations may at this moment be under way. But most of us are still in the stage represented by the college professor who, on emerging from an interview with the college president, remarked: “I know what the president said but I wish I knew what he really thought.”

Human beings, their physical environment, and their actions, so far as they can be represented by present material objects and present actions and are regarded as mere sights and sounds or

other things of direct sensory appeal, plainly fall within the range of possible instruction as soon as children begin to form clear images of what is placed before them and to associate the images with words. With increasing vocabulary and the ability to read, there is, in the practice of teachers, increasing dependence upon words until all the phenomena of history find their chief, if not their only, expression in words. When that stage is reached, history may be so taught as to furnish ground for the suspicion often voiced, especially in the United States, that history offers no elementary aspects, no regular order of progression from the simple to the less simple, no clear principles of grading. But this is only a confession of poor teaching. With words that relate to past material conditions or to past actions, we are still in the domain of the senses. Is it a house that is described? We have seen houses and can use them in forming conceptions of houses which exist for us only in verbal description. Are the dimensions given? We have used a foot rule. Were the walls a dull red? We have seen dull red. The details, so far as they are given, can be referred to memories of sensory impressions and these can be verified, if necessary, by fresh appeals to houses, a foot rule, and dull red. The process can begin as soon as children begin to use words. Is it a past action that is described? We form our conception by reference to action, either our own or that of others, which we have observed directly and which can, if necessary, be repeated. The process can begin as soon as children begin to use words.

From the house or the action thus conceived, there is an orderly progression from the simple to the less simple when we rise to represent to ourselves the past mental states associated with the house or the action. The house was once thought to be very large or very small, very handsome or very ugly. Living in it was once felt to be very comfortable or very uncomfortable. The action may have been performed to injure or to help somebody. It may have been thought very brave or very cowardly. The performer or performers may have felt very glad or very sorry about it. Past thoughts and feelings thus directly and obviously related to the house or the action are within the experi-

ence of children as soon as they begin to have thoughts and feelings about external things directly before their senses. The degree to which their representations correspond with the actual past thoughts and feelings may, however, easily be overestimated. Many children, like some adults, can talk with fluency and apparently with deep interest about things of which they have no understanding. What such children usually need is not encouragement but questioning which will reveal their ignorance. There are exceptions which will be noted farther on. But usually, when children repeat words which stand for past thoughts and feelings, questions designed to test their reactions will be in order.

Facts relating to any of the phenomena with which history deals may be either particular or general. They may relate in detail to individual objects, individual persons, individual actions, individual thoughts, feelings, motives. They may in varying degrees of abstraction summarize individual objects or persons. They may relate to groups of objects or persons, to collective acts and sentiments, to those habits and usages which are called institutions, to general causes that act in history. A slave we can image, but what was "the Slave Power" in America? Groans we have no doubt heard, but what was "a groan from the heart of France"? Opinions we have no doubt expressed, but what is "public opinion"? How shall we represent to ourselves a panic, a revolution, classes and masses, society itself and the laws of social action?

The simplest problems in the study of history are evidently those connected with forming conceptions of how the world and its activities looked in the past. The more difficult problems are those connected with forming conceptions of past mental states. Particular facts, whatever their type, are simpler than general facts of the same type. There is, moreover, a certain kind of dependence of the higher upon the lower forms of representation. External conditions and activities furnish necessary clues to the interpretation of past mental states; particular facts furnish necessary clues to the interpretation of general facts.

Whatever the nature of the facts, there is, however, one condition that remains constant. Historical facts are localized facts.

They have time and place relations. If these relations are suppressed, the facts cease to be historical. A fact may be localized in a general way: once upon a time, long ago, before we were born, on an island in the sea, in a faraway country, in the southern hemisphere. It may be localized in a more particular way: Columbus sailed from Spain in 1492; from Palos, Spain, in August, 1492; from the bar of Saltes at eight o'clock, Friday, August 3, 1492. The degree of definiteness with which a fact should be localized depends upon a variety of considerations, some of which are quite arbitrary. But localization itself is never arbitrary nor is it, as sometimes classed, a mere convenience. It is inherent in the conception "historical."

The time sense in children of six is rudimentary. Yesterday, last week, last month, last summer have meanings; one hundred years ago may mean little except a number. Even adults often measure short periods of time very vaguely. From this an argument is sometimes advanced that proves too much. Placing facts in the distant past is, it is urged, a useless exercise anywhere in the elementary school. It can mean to children only "a long time ago." But that is about what it means to many adults. The argument against placing facts in the distant past for children is, therefore, an argument against placing facts in the distant past for many of their elders. With children, as with adults, the standard for measuring the lapse of time must be the reach of their own memories of life, and this is at best a vague standard. It by no means follows that the time sense is beyond cultivation. It can and should be cultivated, and the cultivation can and should begin in the first grade. The problems thus presented to teachers will be examined in a separate chapter.

The place relation of facts offers more tangible things to work with than the time relation. East, west, north, and south can be taught before children reach a first grade in school. Distance can be made more concrete than time. The experience of seeing or walking "a mile down the road" has a kind of physical reality denied to the thirty minutes which it may take a child to walk "a mile down the road." This advantage may seem to be lost when the miles are multiplied. Children who have experienced

five hundred miles in an automobile may have only a vague conception of five hundred miles. They still have, however, something more to build on than when they try to conceive five hundred years. The conditions are perhaps equalized when, as often happens, distance is expressed in terms of time — thirty minutes from Broadway, an hour's walk from the school house, a month's journey from Australia.

The common way of locating a place is of course to find it on a map. Children can begin to find places on maps as soon as they have learned how to read. They can begin to use a scale of miles as soon as they have learned how to count. In these days of general travel by automobile, by motion picture, by radio, and by family conversation, children often begin to use maps in the automobile or in the home before they begin to use maps in school. How to use maps will be considered in a separate chapter.

The general conditions of grading history suggested by the foregoing analysis have been met by all of the systems of grading enumerated in the present chapter, and this alone is sufficient to explain why they "worked." But all of those systems have had self-imposed limits determined by conditions outside of history. The culture epoch theory, for example, assumes that primitive life is suitable for young children and stops there. Primitive life has been so presented that children could image primitive dwellings, primitive furniture, primitive tools and weapons, primitive human beings, and the actions of primitive human beings. Through the external conditions and activities of primitive life, children have been led to the mental states directly and obviously related to those conditions and activities. But it is not the culture epoch theory that has "worked"; it is the presentation. Given the same kind of presentation, children can image dwellings, furniture, tools, weapons, human beings, and actions of human beings in any degree of removal from primitive life. The time exposure needed for imagery increases with the amount of detail to be imaged. It is in general greater for the higher than for the lower civilization. But, given the time and given the same kind of presentation, the higher civilization may be more intelligible than the lower civilization. Children living in highly civilized

surroundings have elements of experience more directly applicable to the study of civilized life than to the study of primitive life.

Systems of grading history have differed widely in their premises and in their programs for children. Large claims have been made for this or that special kind of content as the most suitable and sometimes as the only suitable material for children. The proof has been that the material "worked." But an examination of the conditions under which the material "worked" will furnish grounds for suspecting that it was the form of presentation rather than the material which "worked." Any kind of history is elementary if it is presented in the form of concrete examples — material remains, physical representations of material remains and of actions, verbal description and narration rich in material for imagery, mental states directly and obviously related to things which can be clearly imaged. Elementary history, whatever its content, is history brought within the sensory experience of children. Any other history is advanced. History presented in the form of generalities is advanced history. History presented in the form of reasoning from generalities is advanced history. History presented in the form of abstract appraisals of men or things is advanced history. It may, therefore, be argued that the problem of grading history is essentially a problem in presentation. A fact presented in one way is elementary; the same fact presented in another way is advanced. Concentric circles recognized this and achieved success in presenting the same facts in different ways at different levels. We have in recent years grown very conscious of the "slow-learning child." Textbooks which, twenty-five years ago, were accepted as reasonably intelligible were found a few years later to be too difficult, and since then efforts to simplify textbooks at all levels of instruction have been general and persistent. The problem of grading materials has thus acquired new importance. But evidence that this problem is really being analyzed is slight. A clearer recognition of the principle of bringing materials within the direct experience of pupils would solve many difficulties in dealing with the slow-learning pupil at any level of instruction. There are no doubt limits imposed by the materials themselves upon what is possible

in school even for the ablest pupils. Limits have often been fixed by psychological and pedagogical reasoning, and within such limits there have been many illuminating experiments. Beyond such limits little has been done. What is needed, if we are really to know what is possible for children, is a much wider range of experiment. Some possibilities not generally recognized will be illustrated in later chapters.

THE QUESTION OF AIMS AND VALUES

THE determining factor in opening school doors to history in the sixteenth century seems to have been Sleidanus' *Four Monarchies*. The interest aroused by this book led schoolmasters here and there to read the book to their pupils outside of class hours and the results were so satisfactory that soon schools here and there began to list history, meaning Sleidanus' book, as an optional study. That history was interesting to the young had from the beginning been an argument with which advocates of school instruction in the subject had seasoned their analysis of its value, and the distinction of proving itself interesting may well have made history unique among school studies. It became a tradition that history should be so taught as not to add to school burdens, that it should be so taught as to suggest play rather than work and thus actually lighten school burdens, a tradition which may have been a major influence in keeping history so long an optional subject. It was not until after the middle of the eighteenth century that any considerable number of schools began to treat history as required lessons to be learned and recited like lessons in other subjects, and then critics began to observe a certain equality in drudgery between history and other subjects. The ideal of play was not forgotten, but, under the influence of educational doctrines like those of Rousseau, ceased to be peculiar to history. If all school instruction was to be determined by the felt needs of children, every subject should of course be interesting.

Early claims for the value of history as a school subject were essentially the same as those which, without reference to school instruction, had for centuries been accumulating in prefaces to didactic histories, in formal essays on history, and in incidental expressions of opinion by many kinds of readers of history.

Writers on history as a school subject, however, rarely acknowledged any indebtedness to such appraisals or to each other's appraisals. Even when they were manifestly borrowing ideas, they usually wrote as if they had made their own analysis and had arrived at original conclusions, sometimes in a spirit which seemed to say, "I know not what others may think of history but, as for me, this is what I think." It did not occur to them that in writing about history as if nothing had ever been written before, they were in effect denying the value of history in the very act of proclaiming its value.

By 1835 so much had been written about the value of history as a school subject, and from so many points of view, that Karl August Müller, one of the first to look back over the literature, despaired of saying anything new. He had, moreover, always been of the opinion that nothing could be more useless for a teacher than to talk about the value of his subject. Those who understood the subject would understand its value without any talk about it, and those who did not understand the subject would not understand talk about its value. But, observing that most of the historical instruction of his time was carried on without plans, principles, or results, he changed his mind to the extent of producing thirty-four pages on the nature, value, and aim of historical study.

Scholarship had been recognized as essential in history for schools as far back as Luther's call for the truth in 1524 and had often found expression in later writings. But when Müller wrote, patriotic fervor equal to that of Wimpfeling in 1505 and interpretations of the felt needs of "the child" had, between them, practically driven the idea of scholarship in history out of the pedagogical fold. Müller revived the idea and interpreted it in the scientific spirit of the new history. This made his doctrine that history for schools must tell the truth new doctrine. History, as he saw it, was needed to give meaning to things. He took up the various activities of his time and showed that none of them had meaning apart from history. He took up the other school studies and showed that none of them had meaning apart from history. He analyzed the whole social environment of his time

and showed that none of it had meaning apart from history. His conception embraced humanity as a whole. Pieces of history taught in isolation could, he said, yield no real understanding. Each piece must be taught in its relation to the whole fabric woven by human development. Müller outlined a program for bringing this kind of history within the mental abilities of children. Such history had, he believed, greater possibilities than either the classics or mathematics in introducing children to life, to society, to the best and noblest of our race, and to the best and noblest of humanity. It was, in short, the most useful of all studies and indispensable for all kinds of children in all grades of instruction.¹

But Müller's procedure in approaching the question of value from the side of history was exceptional. Throughout the century Europeans in general approached the question from the side of pupil interest and social environment. Aims were determined by psychology and educational philosophy, and the value of history was judged by the extent to which it could be made to serve the predetermined aims. Aims quite incompatible with scholarship were thus set up and led to much distortion and some deliberate falsification in history for schools. The definiteness which such aims acquired and the definiteness with which they were pursued in actual instruction greatly impressed American observers, especially after 1890, and suggested comparisons with American conditions highly unfavorable to the latter. Early in the twentieth century, largely as a contribution of Americans returning from Continental Europe, we grew accustomed to language very similar to Müller's about our lack of plans, principles, and results, not only in the teaching of history but in our whole educational system.

In the teaching of history we were not lacking in aims. Our trouble was that we had too many aims to steer any specific course with complete conviction. Analysis of sections of the literature by a group of graduate students in 1909-1910 revealed more than two hundred aims, ranging from mere entertainment

¹ Müller, Karl August, *Ueber den Geschichtsunterricht auf Schulen*, Dresden, 1835, pp. 14-48.

of various kinds to direct guidance in dealing with current problems. Among the aims most frequently mentioned were: discipline of the memory, the imagination, the judgment; the setting up of ideals of patriotism, of conduct, of social service; the illumination of other studies, especially geography and literature; and the establishment of intimate relations with current events. Below these in frequency of mention, but often strongly emphasized, were: training in historical evidence; training to develop habits of accuracy in dealing with facts, skill in putting facts together, and insight into causal relations; training in the use of books; and the cultivation of a discriminating taste for historical reading. Often enough to carry weight, it was urged that school instruction in history should aim at expansion of the vocabulary of pupils and at correctness and facility in oral and written expression, and should furnish appealing substance for debating societies and for school compositions. Within or beyond all other aims, we should, it appeared, seek to enrich the humanity of the pupil, enlarge his vision, incline him to charitable views of his neighbors, give him a love for truth, and, in general, make him a better citizen of the United States by making him a citizen of the ages.¹

All of these aims and all of the other aims suggested in the literature were conclusively and eminently desirable. All of them could no doubt to some extent be promoted by history. But so many of them could be equally, or even more effectively, promoted by other subjects that their force was weakened and, in the absence of specific controlling aims, history could be pronounced an essentially aimless subject. It could even be suspected of being an essentially useless subject.

Claims for the value of history as a school subject have no doubt often been exaggerated. It has been too readily assumed that values realized by trained historians can be realized by school pupils. "He who has learnt to understand the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages," wrote Lecky, "is not likely to go far wrong in estimating his own." This may be true for historians. But when, carrying the idea into school, we

¹ From a manuscript summary.

say that history, by giving pupils practice in making up their minds about the character and acts of men in the past, prepares them for making up their minds about the character and acts of men in the present, we may be reminded that school judgments are either ready-made judgments of the teacher or the textbook, which give the pupil no training in judging for himself, or, if independent, are usually based upon data from which the disturbing factors that make our problem in judging the character and acts of men in the present are accommodatingly absent. To most persons of average education a judgment of Thomas Jefferson is simple and sure because they know so little about him, while a judgment of Franklin D. Roosevelt is difficult and uncertain because they know so much about him. Ordinary school history scarcely supplies data sufficient for exercising the judgment in the way called for by data relating to the present. Even for those who have "learnt to understand the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages" the evidence is not altogether conclusive. It is notorious that expert historians differed almost as widely as laymen in estimating "the true character and tendencies" of the presidential campaign of 1936.

Again, it has often been said that historical knowledge is practical knowledge; it is "philosophy teaching by example"; it is the "lamp of experience" pointing the way to action in the present. This is one of the oldest and one of the most familiar of all claims for the value of historical instruction. Many people of many different kinds have no doubt been made wise by their study of history. But to draw from the past "lessons" directly applicable to the present without a fuller knowledge of fundamental differences between past and present than can usually be acquired in school may become one of the most misleading and one of the most dangerous of the uses that can be made of history.

There are other familiar claims for the educational value of history that invite some discount, and criticism has sometimes gone so far as to leave history an essentially useless subject. The last place to look for skepticism of a pronounced kind would be, perhaps, a textbook in history. Yet an English author of the

generation now passing actually accomplished the feat of writing an excellent textbook without convincing himself that the subject treated was really worthy of serious study. "For English history," he remarks in the preface, "as part of a school curriculum or as a means of education I have no regard at all."¹

A questioning attitude toward history has more recently been promoted by ideas derived directly or indirectly from philosophers like Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile. The doctrine that the past has no reality apart from present thought about the past, that the past is only a creation of the present — a doctrine which sums up in extreme form a subjectivity long recognized by writers on historical methodology — is casting doubt upon the assumption that history is needed to explain present conditions. The educational bearings of this doubt are explored in a recent article entitled, "Is History a Prerequisite to the Study of Social Problems?" The conclusion is that "if there are good reasons for emphasizing social problems in the secondary school, there appears to be no justification for making an excursion through the past before attacking them. The attack can be made direct."²

Among conceded results of historical instruction are some which have been challenged on the ground that they are undesirable. There may, it has been urged, be too much interest in the past. B. O. Smith, in the article quoted in the preceding paragraph, points out that "overemphasis upon the genetic approach naturally habituates one in thinking of present conditions in terms of conditions that have passed away, leading to the habit of retrospection to the exclusion of an analysis of things as they are. Fortunate indeed," he continues, "is the man who can steep himself in this type of historical study and still maintain a rigorous and constructive attitude toward the present and its problems in terms of its resources and potentialities."³ A distinguished educator in 1899 voiced a similar feeling when, after observing a particularly enthusiastic lesson in history, he said to the teacher: "You are spoiling those children for life in the

¹ Fletcher, C. R. L., *Introductory History of England*, London, 1913, Volume I.

² Smith, B. O., in *The Social Studies*, May, 1938, p. 210.

³ *The Social Studies*, May, 1938, p. 209.

present by making them think so much of the past." Nietzsche in 1874 was more specific. Animal life, as he saw it, is unhistorical. It knows neither yesterday nor to-day. There are no representations of past conditions to interfere either with its freedom or its pleasures. There is nothing to conceal. All is entirely in and of the immediate present. All is, therefore, just what it appears to be, all is honorable. Human life is restricted, bent, and twisted by the ever increasing burden of the past. Children, like animals, are happy until they begin to understand the meaning of "it was." The condition of their happiness later is to forget that anything *was*. He who cannot forget can never know what happiness is, and still worse can never do anything to make others happy. The historical and unhistorical states of mind are both essential to the welfare of an individual, a people, or a culture, but there is a kind of historical sense that impairs, and at last destroys, what is really life, whether the life of an individual, a people, or a culture. It is utterly wrong to be ungrateful to the past, blind to experience, deaf to examples, to exist as a tiny living eddy in a dead sea of night and oblivion, and yet no artist can paint his picture, no general can win his victory, no nation can attain its freedom, without lapsing for the moment into an utterly unhistorical state of mind. The historical state of mind is opposed to originality of character. It is at best for strong personalities. Under its influence weak personalities lose their plastic force and are obliterated. They suffer from it as from a disease. All of us suffer. That is, all of us who were alive in 1874 suffered. One of the great maladies of the time was *die historische Krankheit*, which, translated into English, may be called *historitis*.¹

Revolt against the past is of course a normal condition in the ranks of futurists of all persuasions. "My heart beats for Italy," an Italian apostle of futurism is reported to have said in an interview in 1910. "Our national life is strangled by the grip of the dead hand. We are not allowed to move forward according

¹ *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben*, Friedrich Nietzsche's Werke, Band 2, Leipzig, 1906. See especially pp. 108, 110, 111, 113, 132, 148, and 202. It should perhaps be noted that when Nietzsche wrote this essay, his mind was already somewhat clouded.

to the modern necessities of life because the way is blocked by the old monuments, the old statues, the crumbling old ruins, and the romantic old sentiments which encumber our people.”¹

School instruction in history may no doubt tend at times to promote absorption in and by the past to a degree that is undesirable, may tend to inspire a devotion that is excessive, may actually cultivate to some extent that “exaggerated respect for past ages” which Buckle pronounced the most harmful of all ways of distorting truth.² The general practice of the nineteenth century, at least in the earlier stages of historical instruction, was to idealize the past, especially the national past, to invest it with the glamour of a golden age, to impress the legend that “there were giants in those days.” That practice may at times have suggested comparisons very unfavorable to the present in which the children were living and may even have invited imitation of giants of old to a degree not conducive to good school discipline. But the century in passing left behind numerous counteracting tendencies. We were reminded so often “of our immense superiority over our comparatively ignorant forefathers”³ that the age appeared on the whole to be suffering not so much from “exaggerated respect for past ages” as from exaggerated respect for itself. Indeed, in the opinion of a poet of the time, the past had been consigned to oblivion:

“The old times are dead and gone and rotten;
The old thoughts shall never more be thought;
The old faiths have failed and are forgotten,
The old strifes are done, the fight is fought.”⁴

In science and technology the educated world is still conscious of an “immense superiority” even over the generation that went out in 1900 and, in its mournful acceptance of the economic depression as also without precedent and the greatest in all

¹ *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

² Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization in England*, Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1903-1904, 3 volumes, I, 96.

³ Wallace, Alfred Russell, *The Wonderful Century*, London and New York, 1898, p. I.

⁴ Morris, Sir Lewis, quoted by Wallace, *ibid.*, p. iv.

history, finds additional reason for preoccupation with the present. Advocates of the severely functional approach are in consequence not suffering from *historitis*. Their disease, if they have one, is more likely to be acute *presentitis*, leading from a troubled world in the present to a troubled world in the past, and finding perhaps in both worlds useful propaganda for "new deals" in human affairs, but rarely creating a past that explains itself sufficiently to enlighten understanding of the present.

From 1900 to 1915 it was frequently charged by teachers in the ranks, by instructors in normal schools, and by professors of education in universities and teachers' colleges that history for American schools was being dominated by scholars unacquainted with school conditions and out of sympathy with pedagogical principles. Textbooks written by historical scholars, usually on patterns suggested by the Committees of Seven and Eight, did, it is true, raise scholarship to new levels and did, it is true, often betray a singular lack of acquaintance with school conditions and an insufficient grasp of the principle that facts, as Frank McMurry and others insisted, should "function." After 1912 discontent spread rapidly. Many teachers had already accepted the doctrine of education through and for the immediate social environment and were ready to join with educational philosophers in attacking any system which restricted freedom in applying this doctrine to history. The *Report* of the Committee on the Social Studies in 1916 expressed so well the discontent of the time and gauged so accurately the directions in which relief from "scholar domination" was being sought, that it marks a turning point in the making of programs and ranks in influence with the *Report* of the Committee of Seven. Its direct treatment of aims for history was confined to two observations:

- (1) "A primary aim of instruction in American history should be to develop a vivid conception of American nationality, a strong and intelligent patriotism, and a keen sense of the responsibility of every citizen for national efficiency. . . ."
- (2) One of the conscious purposes of instruction in the history of nations other than our own should be the cultivation of a sympathetic understanding of such nations and their peoples, of an

intelligent appreciation of their contributions to civilization, and of a just attitude toward them. . . .”¹

But the Committee saw in an earlier statement by Mr. Dunn on *Standards by Which to Test the Value of Civics Instruction* “a general application to all of the social studies.” According to these standards, civics teaching is good

1. In proportion as it makes its appeal definitely and consciously to the pupil’s own present interest as a citizen.
2. In proportion as it provides the pupil with adequate motives for studying civics and for seeking opportunity to participate in the civic life of the community of which he is a member.
3. In proportion as it stimulates coöperation among the pupils, and on the part of the pupils with others, for the common interest of the community (school, home, neighborhood, city, State or Nation).
4. In proportion as it cultivates the judgment with reference to a civic situation and the methods of dealing with it; and in proportion as it cultivates initiative in the face of such situation.
5. In proportion as its subject matter is selected and organized on the basis of the pupil’s past experience, immediate interests, and the needs of his present growth.²

The whole framework set up by the Committee for the social studies was in fact an application of the spirit and point of view of community civics, the special field of the compiler of the *Report*.

In the decade after 1916 the term “objectives” took the place of the term “aims” in general usage, and American sensitiveness to the need of clear objectives became acute. To determine objectives was the first task undertaken by the Commission of the American Historical Association on the Social Studies, and, after two years of research and discussion, resulted in *A Charter for the Social Sciences*.

The *Charter* turned out to be an eloquent statement of general principles, but nowhere clearly differentiated the objectives of the social sciences from the objectives of education in general

¹ National Education Association, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education . . . Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education . . . Compiled by Arthur William Dunn . . . , Washington, 1916*, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and nowhere set up a neat table of objectives after the manner of French and German programs. Even the "supreme purpose in civic instruction — the creation of rich and many-sided personalities" (p. 93), reminiscent of Herbartian "many-sided interest," can scarcely be claimed to be peculiar to instruction in the social sciences. In identifying to a large extent the objectives of the social sciences with the objectives of education in general, the *Charter* followed a procedure found to be conventional in 1909-1910. Teachers who want specific reasons for what they teach will, in consequence, find it difficult to draw such reasons from the *Charter*. Objectives became more distinctive in "the frame of reference" set up as a separate chapter (Chapter II) in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission, but in the next chapter of this volume the desire "to bring the findings of the social sciences to bear upon the total educational undertaking" (p. 30, footnote) leads to general considerations which may leave an impression that the objectives of the social sciences are, after all, the objectives of education in general.

Broadly stated, the objectives which may be gathered from "the frame of reference" are:

1. To cultivate a scientific spirit in the treatment of subject matter.
2. To transmit the American "ideals of popular democracy and of personal liberty and dignity."
3. To prepare pupils for a change from an economy of individualism to an economy of collectivism.
4. To enlarge "understanding and mutual toleration among the diverse races, religions, and cultural groups which compose the American nation."
5. To develop an enlightened attitude toward international relations.
6. To hold up "the spirit of science and scholarship, liberty of thought and expression, freedom of press and platform, and tolerant study of the most diverse ideas, domestic and foreign, modern, medieval, and ancient, as the chief means of defense against the tyranny of bureaucracy, of narrow nationalism, and of brutal uninformed power."

The Commission on History appointed by the College Entrance Examination Board approached the field with an organizing

thesis and, guided by that thesis, arrived at the following explicit summary of objectives:

- (1) An understanding of the fundamental problems which have faced man in his social evolution.
- (2) Some knowledge of how he has dealt with these problems at different times and in different places.
- (3) An objective attitude towards all social customs, organizations, and institutions as being not ends in themselves but means to ends, and a disposition to weigh and measure them not in terms of blind loyalties but in terms of their adequacy to serve the purposes they are designed to serve.
- (4) An appreciation of the fact that no movement in human affairs can be adequately comprehended or properly appraised without reference to the impulses, near and remote, which set it in motion.
- (5) An appreciation of the fact that human society is always in motion, never static, and that the concept of unceasing change is just as essential to the understanding of any social organism as it is of any biological organism.
- (6) An appreciation of the fact that since change is of the essence of society, the social machinery must be constantly readjusted to meet the changing social needs of a constantly changing social world.
- (7) An attentive attitude, therefore, to all ideas, seriously directed towards the improvement of the social order, accompanied, however, by a critical distrust of all social medicines concocted and prescribed without adequate knowledge either of the nature of the disease or of the history of the patient.
- (8) An appreciation of the fact that different conditions of living and different standards of value produce different ways of dealing with fundamental social problems; an acceptance of diversities of culture as in the nature of things and not in themselves undesirable; and a capacity not only to approach objectively but to participate understandingly in the ways of thought and the ways of action of cultures different from our own.
- (9) A sense of social responsibility which involves not only intelligent participation in the operation of the social machine as it is, but also intelligent coöperation in the making of such alterations in the social machine as shall keep it in close adjustment to changing social needs.

Finally (10) the Commission believes that history, properly taught, should develop certain definite attitudes in dealing with social material of all sorts. It should offer a particularly favorable opportunity to train students:

- (a) How and where to get information.
- (b) How to weigh evidence and discount prejudice.
- (c) How to reach logical conclusions.
- (d) How to select, arrange and present social data as preliminary to the formation of a sound opinion about any social pattern, past or present.¹

Individual contributions of the last twenty-five years have, with increasing frequency, emphasized citizenship as the distinctive aim of the social studies. This was the aim chiefly emphasized in the early teaching of history in the United States, and in the teaching of government this has always been the determining aim. It is an aim the importance of which, under our American system, can scarcely be overestimated, and the social studies may properly claim a dominating place in its promotion. But the ideals of education for citizenship have become so inclusive that all general education may be regarded as education for citizenship. When, therefore, we analyze citizenship, we find, not *an* aim, but the old multiplicity of aims.

Every school study should, of course, be brought to bear upon "the total educational undertaking," and no study should be discounted because its relation to "the total educational undertaking" appears to be about the same as that of some other studies. But to qualify for a place in the school curriculum, it will probably be agreed that a study, besides being good for almost everything, should be particularly good for something in particular, should supply something of educational significance not supplied by other studies, or supplied less effectively by other studies. Every study has presumably something of educational significance peculiar to itself to offer, something unique either in kind or degree. If this is true, it appears reasonable to assume that what is of unique educational significance in a study should determine its controlling objectives, and that other objectives incidental thereto should be treated as incidental. It does not follow that what is found to be unique is necessarily important. A clear distinction between controlling objectives and other

¹ College Entrance Examination Board, Commission on History, "Report of the Commission," *The Social Studies*, December, 1936, Volume XXVII, pp. 549-550.

objectives, by enabling us to assign to a study a distinctive individual role, may, indeed, lead to the conclusion that a study is not worth teaching at all. Whether the educational significance of a study as seen from within the study itself is important or unimportant must be determined by the extent to which its distinctive contribution can be shown to be actually needed in meeting fundamental life situations.

In the case of history there are two things that stand out as unique: (1) the historical method of arriving at facts; (2) the historical idea of development. Are these important?

That the historical method of arriving at facts is important becomes clear as soon as we realize that it is the method by which we arrive at all of our facts about external things beyond the range of our direct observation and consider the relative mass of such facts in our total equipment of knowledge. It is, of course, a method which everybody uses every day, and very often most of the day. But it comes to us so naturally and so inevitably with the first occasion for its operation that we may use it for a lifetime without any consciousness of a method. The rules and principles which have been established for guidance in its use may to some extent be unconsciously followed through "a natural sense of evidence." But "a natural sense of evidence" appears to be rare in human beings. Most of us are born with bumps of credulity so large that only years of persistent treatment can reduce them to reasonable size. Skepticism is, it is true, as common as credulity. There is the familiar skepticism due to sheer ignorance. There is the familiar skepticism induced by credulity itself hardening into prejudice. Mr. Dooley spoke for a large fraction of mankind and for many conditions besides those supplied by newspapers when he said: "I take all th' pa-apers an read them fr'm end to end. I don't believe a bad thing they print about anny iv me frinds but I believe ivirything about anny body else."¹ Skepticism may indicate a sense of evidence; it may also indicate mere imperviousness to evidence.

To give pupils some notion of the nature of historical evidence has long been recognized as an *incidental* aim in historical instruc-

¹ Salmon, Lucy M., *The Newspaper and the Historian*, New York, 1923, p. 138.

tion and in some arguments for the use of primary sources has even been elevated to the rank of a *controlling* aim. But the fundamental character of the historical method and its wide application appear rarely to have registered in the consciousness of pupils in school and in most people outside of school have remained below the level of consciousness. A study of history that leaves the pupil unconscious of the historical method can scarcely be called a *study* of history at all. What the pupil learns is a series of answers to problems with hints, here and there, that some of the answers are in dispute. History for schools has for more than three hundred years consisted almost exclusively of such answers, and the impression has been almost universal that to go behind the answers is neither desirable nor within the abilities or inclinations of pupils. To suggest training in the historical method as a *controlling* aim in history for schools is certainly a departure from long-established tradition. It may or may not be a desirable departure, but that is a matter scarcely to be determined by those who are themselves untrained in the method and have never seen it tested in school.

Is the historical idea of development important? Scholars and educators have alike so generally answered in the affirmative that only the degree to which the idea has been or should be applied in school programs and textbooks furnishes occasion for serious controversy. Between the lycée program in France with its ideal of tracing "the principal transformations of humanity" in sequences that establish complete historical continuity and American programs based upon the functional approach, there is a considerable gulf. Within the special topics selected for the latter, there may be an appearance of applying the idea of development, but topics determined by what matters now, and treated throughout with specific reference to what matters now, may easily miss what mattered most in the past and thus miss the essential factors in actual development. The topics may, moreover, be so unrelated to each other that all sense of general historical continuity is lost, and continuity itself has often been specifically repudiated in American educational discussion. American textbooks in history have taken the idea of develop-

ment more seriously and have often so applied it as to be accused of presenting "history for the sake of history," a compliment which few of them have ever deserved.

Most textbook writers aim to meet the reigning educational demands, whatever those demands may be. Witness the number of textbooks that have adopted the unit plan of organization. But to advocates of the functional approach, it is a standing grievance that textbooks which achieve for history organic unity are packed with facts that have no relation to the present, a defect from which, it is assumed, functional textbooks are free. How restrictive their standards may sometimes be was illustrated by the principal of a conspicuous "modern" school, when, at a gathering of patrons of the school, he asked his chief teacher of history: "Would you teach any facts not directly related to the present?" With some hesitation the teacher replied that he would. "Not in this school," snapped the principal, allowing no opportunity for the teacher to explain his answer. Acute *presentitis* may vision the possibility of teaching only facts *in themselves* directly related to the present, but any attempt to exhibit past conditions or events is likely to introduce some facts whose sole excuse for being is that they are a part of the exhibit. Functional programs and functional textbooks may confine attention to topics suggested by the immediate present, but the history that figures within those topics may be as remote from present problems as programs and textbooks which are stigmatized as "old-fashioned." In that widely used, not to say abused, topic, transportation, for example, just what has transportation in ancient China or ancient Egypt or ancient Greece to do with transportation in the United States today? Stages in the development of transportation are of course important from the point of view of development, but, to the extent that the functional approach applies the idea of development, it is on the same ground as "old-fashioned" history. Some facts, that is, are selected not because of their direct relation to the present but because of their direct relation to the idea of development. Many of those who are now casting stones at facts not in themselves directly related to the present would find, if they took the trouble to

look, a considerable display of glass in the facing of their own houses.

History that traces development inevitably includes facts not directly related to the present. Its fundamental question is not what matters *now* but what mattered *then*. Its primary mission is to exhibit life as it *was* and to show what the things *were* that shaped *past* living. Even scientific history, however, reflects the tastes, interests, and problems of the present in which it is written, and, as organized for schools, is as deeply concerned with the present as the functional approach. In much of actual content it is in fact so largely shaped by the present that, like the history shaped by the functional approach, it is constantly going out of date. There is, it is true, an underlying assumption that if history is to contribute toward an understanding of the present, it must also contribute toward an understanding of the past, and it is on the issue of the extent to which it is necessary to make the past intelligible that conflict arises with the functional approach. In tracing development, textbooks written by scholars aim at organic continuity; the functional approach limits development to special phases directly suggested by the present and treats them separately, assuming for each a self-sufficiency that renders unnecessary any general exploration of the past. Both accept the idea of development as important, and the *ultimate* purpose of the one is the same as the *immediate* purpose of the other. That purpose, briefly stated, is to enlighten understanding of the present and stimulate intelligent moral action.

History has been classed as a social science distinguishable from other social sciences and is of course differentiated from the natural sciences and from poetry, fiction, and other special forms of literature. But all subjects of study are themselves forms of development and as such to be explained in part by their history. So generally is this recognized that specialists in every department of the vast domain of human knowledge now view their fields historically, natural scientists perhaps most of all, for natural scientists habitually build upon the work of their predecessors and, unlike educational reformers, rarely begin at the beginning as if nothing had ever been begun before. History has

itself a history which helps to explain present conceptions of history.

As a social science differentiated from other social sciences, it is the special province of history to trace social development, showing by concrete examples of successive societies in action what society has been, how society has "worked," what the causes and consequences of social action have been, and how society as it *is* grew out of society as it *was*.

Reasoning about the present from facts relating to the past is a process familiar to every reasoning being and, as usually carried on, implies some idea of development. The "facts" may not be true, the reasoning may be fantastic, the development implied may be impossible. The results are in any case factors in shaping much of our attitude toward life and much of our conduct. The functional approach to history may be regarded as a conscious extension of such reasoning, and large claims are advanced for its effectiveness in making current social problems interesting to children and in training children to think intelligently even about problems which many of their educated elders face without much intelligence. The functional approach may, however, like the "old-fashioned" history, involve little more than memorizing. School instruction in history which embodies Hitler's or Mussolini's dreams and ambitions is highly functional, but as training consists of learning, reciting, and believing a creed. School instruction in history which follows what "the textbook says" in the United States, whether the textbook is called "history" or "social studies" or something else, may be highly functional and yet offer no more training than the German or Italian program. An American textbook may, it is true, be critical in ways not permitted in Germany or Italy, and reciting its critical views may be said to make children critical. But the training that children thus receive is still acceptance of a creed. No criticism of faith in a creed is here intended. Faith may be far more important than knowledge. But history professes to be a body of knowledge and is presumably to be treated as a body of knowledge.

History as a creed may be defended on the ground that his-

torical "objectivity" always has been, and always will be, a sham, or, in the more polite language of philosophy, an "illusion"; that it was a wise man who first declared history a collection of fables which men had agreed to believe; and that any conception of the past may be called "history," if it is useful. In the results achieved by historical scholarship, there are nonetheless some probabilities more probable than others, and to place them all on the same level of uncertainty with an approach to believing nothing is no more intelligent than to place them all on the same level of certainty with an approach to believing everything.

In the United States so much emphasis is now being placed upon the need of cultivating in school a critical attitude toward facts, so much is being said about training in the use of evidence, so much is being urged in the analysis of propaganda, and so much of all this involves the nature of "historical trueness," that some training in the historical method is already implied. It remains to make the training conscious and systematic. Much emphasis is also being placed upon the idea of development and is summed up in the slogan, "Education for a changing world." This slogan, while born of the World War and, in spite of numerous precedents, regarded as a new discovery, is quite in line with the historical idea of development and is sufficient evidence that the idea of development is already a force in shaping American education. That the only study which can make clear the idea of development should be charged with conscious responsibility for making the idea clear would, therefore, appear to be an obvious conclusion.

Development is of course only a larger name for change, and the idea of change is so constantly borne in upon us through the most familiar experiences of life that it may seem quite unnecessary to refer to history for illustration. Yet change is often dimly perceived even by those who have studied some history. There are still American educators who regard "a changing world" as a new discovery. There are serious American statesmen who measure the United States of today by the standards of 1789. History itself, as conceived by many of the older historians encouraged such views. The older historians were conscious of

change, but many of them regarded change as recurring change. It was on the assumption that human affairs followed, in cycles or circles, tracks which had been followed before that history was believed to have practical value for life. There are still those who believe that history repeats itself, or at least that the general aim of school instruction should be to make history repeat itself. In development, as traced by modern historians, there are many enduring things; many ideas are consciously handed on from generation to generation; many ideas held by one generation and forgotten by the next are revived by later generations; the fundamental passions of the human heart, as Vives pointed out in 1531, remain substantially the same. Yet the total impression left by development is that each generation has its own adventures "brave and new" to a degree that renders the idea of history repeating itself no longer tenable. It is here that the idea of progress comes into view. Only history can measure progress. Only history can test the claims of "progressives" to progress in education, in politics, in religion, or in any other field. History has thus far neither proved nor disproved any thesis relating to progress as a general tendency in the development of humanity. It may some day, through continuing analysis of progress, arrive at laws of progress under which it will be possible to take society in hand consciously and consciously shape its course so effectively as to make progress a general and enduring tendency. That may in time come to be regarded as the ultimate and most valuable result of historical instruction.¹

History, even as it is, can make the social world of today intelligible in a way unthinkable apart from history and of universal application to current social problems. This is so generally recognized in school instruction that no supporting argument is needed. The application most commonly made consists, however, of comparing present conditions with similar conditions in the past, a procedure that may quite fail to impress the idea of development and thus miss the explanation of present conditions which that idea can convey. Resemblances between the present and the past are important. Without them there would be no

¹ Cf. Robinson, J. H., *The New History*, New York, 1912, pp. 251-252.

basis for grasping the past at all. But differences are equally fundamental. Without them there could be no history. Differences suggest change, and change is the soul of history.

But if a critical attitude toward facts is desirable, a critical attitude toward the idea of development is equally desirable. Development as traced by historians is only reasoning from selected facts. It cannot be much better than its facts and may be worse. It is itself only a "fact" established by the historical method and as such subject to variations in its degree of probability. Applied in different ways in different countries, the idea of development wears in each country the aspect of that country's ideology. It is one thing in Hitlerized world history, another thing in Mussoliniized world history, and still another thing in Americanized world history. There is no common ground of "historical trueness" from which to view either the facts or their combination in the idea of development. Divergences, widened since the World War of 1914-1918 to a degree perhaps never before witnessed, have intensified the bitterness of world woes. So long as such divergences persist, school instruction in history will continue to be among the forces that engender racial, religious, and international prejudices, suspicions, jealousies, and hatreds. Conditions are now so bad that they may easily grow worse. But the worst of times may be the best of times to think of palliatives. What can history do? Was there ever a time that called so clearly upon historical instruction for training in historical trueness, training, that is, in the historical method of establishing facts and training in the historical idea of development? In much of the world today such training is of course impossible. Even in the United States various state legislatures, city councils, boards of education, and other official agencies, driven by pressure groups, have sought to impede our freedom to think intelligently about history. But the area of safety for the exercise of American intelligence is still sufficient to admit at least of exploratory experimentation. Far from any present practice as the full implications of historical trueness now undoubtedly are, they may in some happier time of their own making take a form possible even now to dream about — the

enduring things in the long story of human development told without provincial prejudice, embracing all lands and all peoples, leading to, but not led by, the fleeting present, world history one and essentially the same for all the schools in the world and studied by all the children in the world.

The demands made upon historical instruction by training in the historical method of establishing facts and training in the historical idea of development as controlling aims may seem slight in comparison with those imposing lists of aims which embrace about everything that education is supposed to be good for. In reality, they are demands which test the resources of history and the resources of pupils to the utmost. In reality they are demands which condition other demands that go beyond mere entertainment and the inculcation of a narrow patriotism, demands that must be met in any serious attempt to make the present social world intelligible. It may be objected that they are demands which appeal too much to the intellect of childhood and youth and too little to the emotions. But that is to read the historical process abstractly. Concrete examples of successive societies in action will still abound in emotional appeals. Man will be seen at his lowest and worst, as he already is seen in any serious study of history. The reaction to that, if healthy, may, as the eighteenth century so firmly believed, be intense hatred of the lowest and worst and a stimulus to conduct more becoming to the dignity of human nature. Man will also be seen at his best and highest. There will still be examples of heroism, of patience under suffering, of loving service, of eloquence moving men to better things, of passionate pursuit of the good, the beautiful, and the true, moments which, if properly presented, will make children at any stage of school instruction feel that they are standing on holy ground. Experience has shown that emotional appeals of any kind, instead of being minified, are greatly enhanced by a sense of historical trueness.

It may be objected that there are positive dangers in seeking to make the social world really intelligible to children. The habit of judging different ages by standards peculiar to those ages may dull the sense of present moral values. It may lead to

a toleration of customs which ought not in the light of our day be tolerated. It may chill that pride of country which in the name of patriotism so deeply concerns historical instruction, and leave the pupil with a general feeling that it is the most stupid thing in the world to pronounce one custom or institution or country either better or worse than another. The idea of ceaseless change may create an impression that whatever is in state, church, school, family, or occupation is temporary, that what is valuable today may not be valuable tomorrow, and that there are no permanent values.

Some of these possibilities are not so bad as they may appear, unless truth itself is bad, and the idea of social progress carries its own antidote for others. It may be desirable, for example, that pride of country should, now and then, be a bit chilled. When a textbook writer gravely announces that his purpose is to make children see why Americans are "the bravest men and the most successful of inventors, explorers, authors, and scientists," there is need of a slightly lower temperature. Doubtless some pride of country is desirable, and there is no country that does not inspire it. Foreigners used to think that our country inspired it to an undue degree. De Tocqueville, observing conditions in the eighteen thirties, found that for fifty years there had been impressed upon the Americans the idea that they were "the only religious, enlightened, free people." "They have," he wrote, "an immense opinion of themselves and are not far from believing that they form a species apart from the human race." Another Frenchman thought that it must be a standing source of irritation to Americans "not to able to pretend that an American discovered America." Bryce in the eighties found the old self-assertion only "faintly noticeable" and felt the change as a compliment to Americans.¹ Later the "muck-raker" made us perhaps too conscious of our faults, and in the present depression we are perhaps less proud of our country than we ought to be. But in no attempt at true characterization of its achievements, hopes, and ideals can the American past leave us cold, nor the present grow-

¹ See Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1902, III, 82-83.

ing out of that past, in spite of all doubts and misgivings, fail to offer stronger reason for self-congratulation than even the great days of Andrew Jackson. As for the standards of other ages and other countries, he is a poor patriot, whatever his training or lack of training in history or whatever his flag, who cannot to some extent sympathize with Max O'Rell's Englishman, when, on returning from France, he thanks God that he was born an Englishman, or with his Frenchman when, on returning from England, he exclaims, "How proud a man is to call himself a Frenchman after he has looked at England!"

With our present view of history the facts selected to make our social world intelligible will naturally be those most immediately related to our own special interests, problems, and standards of judgment. We must and do consider the influence of other countries upon our destiny and our relations to them. Much stress has in recent years been laid upon our European background. Much stress has also been laid upon a sympathetic understanding of present-day peoples in foreign climes, including even India, China, and Japan. We thus create difficulties greater than many of us seem to appreciate. When, for example, a condition in ancient Greece is approached because it seems to throw light on a present condition in the United States, we are at once confronted by the necessity of understanding the Greeks to understand the condition in Greece. Nor is this all. To understand the condition in Greece we must perhaps understand conditions outside of Greece. It was once a fashion to begin a history of one's own time with an account of the creation of the world, and there is still something to be said in favor of the principle. If we really mean what we say about using the past to explain the present, if we really mean what we say about understanding other peoples, the means provided by our present programs, especially our social studies programs, are, to speak mildly, absurdly inadequate and more likely to encourage harmful pretensions than any real understanding of other peoples either past or present. Even granting that history for American children should be what is of immediate concern to American children, immediacy, to be intelligible, demands something more than the scanty and utterly disjointed

allusions to the past which now often figure in school programs as history.

Whatever the aim or aims set up for historical instruction, the teacher must, most of the time, press onward consciously and definitely toward the goal. But the pursuit even of a great purpose should not be conceived in a narrow spirit. There ought still to be byways in which it is safe, now and then, to forget the everlasting pedagogical formula, "Turn everything to use," leisure to wander in quiet places with no companion except intellectual curiosity, leisure to commune with the past with no excuse except that it is interesting, leisure to linger over glories that have passed simply because they are glorious; or, if faith in utility must go all the way, rising to the faith of Browning's Grammarians:

"Earn the means first — God surely will contrive
 Use for our earning.
Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes !'
 Live now or never!
He said, 'What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes!
 Man has Forever!'"

At the worst, a little superfluous knowledge is not a dangerous thing, and even if it were, the wisest of educators is unable to draw sharply the line between what is superfluous and what is not. There is danger, in this age of passion for immediate practical results, of forgetting that larger future which, in spite of utilitarian educational philosophers, is ever being shaped in the Grammarians' spirit.

"Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
 Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
 Bad is our bargain."

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY

THE field with which the teacher of history has to deal offers as units of instruction individual human beings and groups of human beings. Facts relating to the former make up the special subject matter of biography. Facts relating to the latter make up the subject matter of history proper. School instruction in history may begin with either, but group units are, in most cases, regarded as at least the ultimate goal. Pupils, that is, are at some stage expected to study Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, the American people, and individual Athenians, Romans, Churchmen, or Americans, only as these appear to be needed for the illustration or explanation of Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, or the American people. A choice between individuals as units and social groups as units is, therefore, ordinarily presented only in the earlier stages of instruction. The usual view has been that history for children should begin with individuals as individuals, but that the subjects should be so selected and so treated as to prepare for a study, later in the course, of social groups. This mode of procedure may be described as the biographical approach to history.

The use of biography for beginners appears to have been first suggested by Rousseau. Biography itself as an independent form of literature was then comparatively new. "Lives" had, of course, been produced, both by antiquity and by the Middle Ages. Indeed, the earliest appearance of the word "biography" in the English language seems to have been Dryden's use of it in 1683 to describe the famous *Parallel Lives* by Plutarch. Both the original of the word and its application to "lives" must be credited to the Greeks. But most of these earlier "lives" lacked the true biographical motive. They were either accounts of the "times" written after the manner of histories in general, or, if

more personal, were designed to celebrate moral qualities, to impress solemn warnings, to defend or defame a character, to win support or to inspire opposition to a doctrine or policy, rather than faithfully to portray the life of a man. It was not until Dryden's own century that any considerable part of the literary world began to demand from writers of "lives" primarily a truthful record of lives and to recognize clearly a distinction between biography and history.

Rousseau proposed a truthful record for *Emile*. He would have men exhibited as they really were. That was his one reason for resorting to biography. *Emile* was to begin his "study of the human heart" with the reading of "individual lives," because in them men are more fully revealed than in narratives of broader scope. In them "it is in vain for the man to conceal himself, for the historian pursues him everywhere; he leaves him no moment of respite, no corner where he may avoid the piercing eyes of a spectator."¹ The study of the past was, however, to begin for *Emile* at the relatively mature age of eighteen. It was, then, a study apparently beyond the usual bounds even of a secondary school course. Could biography be adapted to lower stages of instruction? Was it desirable for lower stages of instruction?

The questions were raised by Basedow and other early supporters of Rousseau, but nearly fifty years passed before educators began to return definitely favorable answers in the form of actual programs. In the process the fundamental postulates of Rousseau, that men should be exhibited as they really were, and that "individual lives" are to be preferred to more general narratives because of their fuller revelations of men, were all but forgotten. There was a distinct tendency to revert to older conceptions of biography, to regard "lives" as vehicles for conveying lessons in morals and patriotism, to seek illustrations, not of life, but of ideals of living. There was another modification. Rousseau, while demanding sober facts, placed no emphasis upon the study of individuals as a preparation for the study of social groups. Later advocates of the biographical plan, with less regard for

¹ Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *Emile*, Payne's translation, Appleton, New York, 1893, pp. 215-216.

"lives" as truthful portraiture, had much to say of biography as a bridge to history, and some of them eventually reached the conclusion that history of any kind desirable for school can and ought to be reduced to biography.

The introductory biographical survey began to appear with some degree of frequency in German programs soon after 1820, and in the course of the next thirty or forty years gradually established itself in the world at large as the usual approach to history. There was some competition with approaches through the home and the community and with approaches through myths and sagas. Advocates of the culture epoch theory naturally preferred myths and sagas. But even in culture epoch programs, biography was, in some cases, combined with myths and sagas.

In its completed form the argument for biography ran about as follows:

- (1) The individual person is a simpler subject to study than the tribe, city, or nation to which he belongs.
- (2) Children have a natural and healthy interest in persons; they live and suffer with their heroes and thus enlarge their own experience in a manner scarcely to be thought of in dealing with social groups.
- (3) Acquaintance with the great and noble characters of the past creates a desire to be like them and makes the evil deeds of evil men abhorrent.
- (4) Individuals can be made to represent social groups, so that a study of the characteristics and experiences of individuals is in effect a study of the characteristics and experiences of social groups themselves.

The need of careful selection was emphasized. Because the individual was a simpler unit for study than the social group, it did not follow that the individual person was himself necessarily either simple or interesting, or if both simple and interesting, that he was either a desirable example to place before children or a fair representative of his social group. To this there were, however, important exceptions. Each country naturally included its own leaders and heroes. Most countries included also at least some characters of world fame or world infamy. These were in a meas-

ure privileged subjects to be admitted with or without reference to any fixed conviction as to the kind of person most readily adapted to the intelligence of children. In the selection of other subjects the standards most generally in evidence were those supplied by the doctrine of natural tastes and interests, or by the culture-epoch theory. For children up to the age of ten or eleven there was, in consequence, a liberal representation of persons of primitive instincts — cavemen, Indians, and the like — and of persons of various instincts who "did things," especially brigands, pirates, adventurers, explorers, pioneers, generals, and kings. Artists, inventors, builders, captains of industry, and other "doers" of the less adventurous sort were to some extent recognized, and there were occasional references to writers, preachers, philanthropists, philosophers, teachers, and even professional scholars. In the main, the demand was for "plenty of action," and this usually implied action that savored somewhat of the spectacular. Subjects and treatment frequently transcended the limits of strict biography. Fictitious events were associated with real persons, real events were associated with fictitious persons, events and persons might be alike fictitious. The essential condition was the use of stories told in biographical form. It was, then, quite possible to construct characters that moved exclusively in realms peopled by the supposed interests of children. The characters might themselves be children and might easily be assigned rôles in which they played their full parts without "the ignominy of growing up" and thus growing out of their proper sphere. For children beyond the age of eleven or twelve, both subjects and treatment were, as a rule, more strictly biographical. But action was still the ruling principle.

The length of the introductory biographical survey varied greatly. In France it was completed at the end of the third year. In England it was often carried to the end of the seventh year, and sometimes to the end of the eighth year. In the United States many programs carried it to the end of the sixth year. Both in Europe and in America there were occasional demands that it should be carried even into secondary instruction.

National leaders and heroes and the somewhat mixed company

of other characters associated with them in the school curriculum were, perhaps, less generally intelligible and less generally interesting than was commonly supposed. Often they were presented so abstractly that children could find little with which to live and suffer except vague adjectives and broad generalizations. Had the presentation in all cases been concrete, had the characters in all cases been made to stand out as real persons, it is more than probable that many a program would have undergone somewhat radical revision. Those tales of fighting, killing, and other forms of physical violence, that occasionally shocked the sensibilities of children, might, had they been fully realized, have shocked them still more, and some other tales would have been found to convey very doubtful ethical lessons.

For moral and patriotic purposes the chief stress was naturally laid upon "highly endowed" and "nobly striving" men. The general principle was that "if we walk with those who are lame, we learn to limp" and "if we associate with princes, we catch their manners." "I fill my mind," said Plutarch, "with the sublime images of the best and greatest men." To fill the minds of children with images of the same kind, and to make these images factors in the adjustment and regulation of everyday conduct, was commonly regarded as the supreme aim of biography in school.

Such ideals many of the lives actually presented to children tended no doubt to promote. Even stories of fighting and killing could no doubt be so manipulated as to teach important lessons in courage, endurance, and love of home and country. From consequences of a different kind most children were, perhaps, delivered by the limitations of their own intelligence. They did not make the logical application. What they carried away very often was only a vague impression that certain characters of the past were in some obscure way either hopelessly good or hopelessly bad, rather stupid, and on the whole not sufficiently interesting to be imitated. This was in some cases fortunate. There were examples placed before children which, if really understood and really taken to heart, would almost certainly have impaired the discipline of the schoolroom. A pupil undertaking to live up to them would almost certainly have been dismissed from school and

might in time have found his way to jail through that lack of harmony with his social environment which brought some hero of his to the same end. "Lives of great men" often "remind us" that the way to "make our lives sublime" is to defy established conventions. If relatively few children learned that lesson in school and applied it in undesirable ways, the fault was not in the examples. A few did learn it and early began to recognize that the situation was saved for others by misinterpretation. Even apparently unimpeachable examples of strictly conventional virtues were not always entirely safe. The story of George Washington and his hatchet, for example, had been known to produce somewhat melancholy results. It had actually inspired the desire to commit some act of depredation for the sake of an opportunity to tell the truth like George Washington, and like him to be rewarded. Many a child had tried the experiment and had met with a treatment so different from that which George Washington received as to lead him to question very seriously whether honesty is, after all, the best policy.¹

The representative character of the lives presented in school has almost invariably been linked with the "great-man theory" of history. The general idea is expressed in the well-known dictum of Carlyle that "the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."² It is more neatly expressed in the dictum of Cousin that "great men sum up and represent humanity."³ The relation here implied may be either the relation of a great man to his own times or the relation of a great man to posterity. Biography when distinctly urged as a bridge to history commonly emphasizes the former. The idea is so to present individual characters as to typify the age in which they lived.

An issue is thus raised which has long invited controversy. Greatness is usually associated with fame. Yet greatness, as

¹ This statement is based upon the testimony of several hundred teachers. The author has himself rather mournful recollections of what happened in his own case when as a boy of eight he put the story to this kind of test.

² Carlyle, Thomas, *Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, Centenary edition of *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, Chapman and Hall, London, n. d., 30 Volumes, V, i.

³ Quoted by Bourdeau, Louis, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, Paris, 1888, p. 17.

defined by moralists, may utterly fail to achieve fame, and fame may be quite unrelated to moral or even to intellectual greatness. What determines fame? The whims of fortune rather than any careful weighing of worth, according to Sallust; the place in which an act happened to be performed, according to Cato; the talent of the writer who happened to record it, according to Vopiscus.¹ Often fame has come to men, not because they embodied the characteristics of their own generation, but because they did not embody them, not because they were representative men, but because they were unrepresentative men. Often fame has been denied by contemporaries and has been bestowed by posterity. As for the famous who were also great, the very act of describing them sets them apart as exceptional. They tower above the rank and file of humanity as mountains tower above the plains of the earth. "What would you think," asks Bourdeau, "of a geographer who for a complete description of the earth should content himself with a mention of the highest summits?"²

The biographical approach in school usually skipped from summit to summit without any reference to the connecting landscape. Even when the characters selected were in general significant from the point of view of history, the stories had as a rule little or no connection. Usually there was not even a pretense of combining the materials into a connected story. In the plan of the Committee of Eight, for example, and this is fairly typical of biographical plans in general, children in the first grade catch glimpses of Miles Standish, of Samoset and Squanto, and of George Washington. In the second grade they have a little more of George Washington, something of Richard Henry Lee, and "selected stories of Civil War heroes." In the third grade they meet heroes of other times: Joseph, Moses, David, Ulysses, Alexander, Cincinnatus, Horatius, William Tell, Roland, Canute, Alfred, Robert Bruce, Joan of Arc, Harroun, and Columbus. In the fourth grade they are introduced in a somewhat more regular way to American explorers and colonists, but even here they take the leap from La Salle to Washington and Franklin. In the fifth grade they have

¹ Quoted by Bourdeau, Louis, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, Paris, 1888, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

selected biographical stories from American history beginning with Patrick Henry and ending with Lincoln and Robert E. Lee, but again there is little to suggest a continuous story. Such an arrangement leaves much to be desired if biography is to be used as a real preparation for history.

Since 1915 the biographical approach has lost its place as the usual approach to history for beginners. The idea was from the first brought into competition with the older idea of beginning with the home and the community, and the older idea appears now again to be in the ascendant. In the United States the program for beginners has been growing more and more sociological. Many units of fundamental social significance and easy to bring within the experience of children have been worked out with high success. But in the upper grades and in the high school, wherever collateral reading has included more than textbooks, biography has continued to hold an important place. There have at times been writings which conveyed a different impression. Under the headline, "Possibilities of Biography in the Teaching of History," *The Christian Science Monitor* of February 11, 1926, contained an article of about a column and a half in length, signed H. E. W. The writer had apparently just discovered biography and was telling others about it. He or she complained that too few teachers were using biographical material in their classes and found two reasons for this condition. In the first place, Americans had not been writing "widely in the biographical field until comparatively recently." In the second place, "the old type of biographies which were written were ponderous compendiums of fact, not of sufficient interest to keep many students awake." The appearance of better material had, however, shown that "where a few teachers have tried the use of biographical work, they have found it of distinct vitalizing value." The writer went on to say that biography throws light on the general character of a time as well as on the individual described, and said it as if it had never been said before. But more than a few teachers in 1926 were better informed than H. E. W. Both then and since 1926, biography has figured extensively in reading lists for schools and in the assignment of special topics for reports in class.

Outside of school, biography has been of continuous interest ever since the fifteenth century. One of the greatest collections of all time, the *Acta Sanctorum*, was begun in the seventeenth century and is still in progress, with 67 volumes now completed. In 1696 the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of Pierre Bayle appeared, and in 1734 was translated into English. It was a dictionary of biography and a forerunner of the great dictionaries which have since appeared. Among the latter may be noted the Swedish dictionary in 23 volumes, published 1835-1857; the Dutch in 24 volumes, published 1852-1878; the Austrian in 35 volumes, published 1856-1891; the German in 45 volumes, published 1875-1900; the English in 63 volumes, published 1885-1900, and later extended by the publication of supplementary volumes; and the American in 20 volumes, published 1928-1936. Many collections have appeared in series devoted to such special subjects as explorers, military leaders, statesmen, poets, inventors, etc. Individual biographies are now receiving fresh accessions every week.

Interest in biography has been greatly increased by the "new school of biography," represented by such writers as Strachey, Maurois, Ludwig, and Gamaliel Bradford. The general methods of this "school" are those of psychoanalysis rather than of research. External facts established by standard biographies are used as clues to the inner workings of the mind, including the subconscious. Such works often partake so largely of the nature of fiction that their classification as biography may be open to some suspicion. But their appeal to the general reader is undeniable.

A still wider appeal has been made by the treatment of biography on the stage and on the screen. Biography has for centuries been prominent among the themes of the theater and has in recent years been extensively exploited with profit both to art and to the box office. Of this something will be said in a later chapter.

With biography may properly be included the whole vast field of such materials for biography as autobiographies, diaries, journals, memoirs, personal reminiscences, and letters. Many a

reader has found this field so intriguing that, so far as history is concerned, he has resolved never to read anything else. Within the field are works which in their time reached the rank of best sellers, but the field as a whole seems to have received from the general public far less attention than the organized biography for which it has furnished the materials.¹

In view of the wide appeal of biography, the richness of the literature, and the special problems in historical criticism which it raises, it may seem strange that separate courses in biography have not won general recognition in colleges and universities. Such a course appeared early in the century among the offerings of the University of Berlin. It was called *Grosse Männer*. Types of great men, varying from year to year, were studied. When the present author took the course, the great men were the great painters from Masaccio down to the nineteenth century. Carleton College at Northfield, Minnesota, for a time offered a course in biography. More such courses would be likely to prove useful to teachers in any field of the social sciences.

Separate courses have at various times been tried in high schools. The Horace Mann School of Teachers College, New York, for example, had for a time a course for girls dealing with the great women of modern times. While conditions since 1920 have discouraged such experiments, interest in the incidental use of biography has not abated, and there are still those who regard the biographical approach as the most suitable approach for beginners.

As a preparation for history, the biographical approach for beginners can be made more historical than it usually appeared to be in the old programs. The work may begin in the community. Local history has been widely cultivated and much of it is largely biographical. In almost any community, materials are available for "stories about people who have lived here," and a succession of community leaders can easily be so arranged and so treated as to make a connected story. The materials must of course be gathered by the teacher, but this may involve no great labor, and

¹ The American field is entertainingly sampled in *An Autobiography of America*, edited by Mark Van Doren, New York, 1929, ix, 737 pp.

every teacher should in any event have some such knowledge of the community which he or she may be serving. "Stories about people who have lived here" will often invite coöperation from the homes of the children, sometimes to an embarrassing degree. The principle can be extended to people who have lived in our state, in the United States, and even to people who have lived in the world. Characters can easily be grouped in sequences in which special virtues or occupations or achievements will serve as connecting threads—a sequence, for example, of boys who became rich, a sequence of girls who became writers of books for children, a sequence of explorers or inventors or "captains of industry." Biographically the aim should be to get acquainted in a personal way with the characters as human beings. The famous Weems had the idea when in his *Life of Washington*, he wrote: "In most of the elegant orations to his praise, you see nothing of Washington below the clouds—nothing of Washington the dutiful son—the affectionate brother—the cheerful school-boy—the diligent surveyor—the neat draftsman—the laborious farmer—the widow's husband—the orphan's father—the poor man's friend."¹ Children should get acquainted with people "below the clouds." Great events difficult to follow can be entirely ignored and still leave a story connected enough to convey at least some slight impression of development and continuity.

For older pupils with textbooks that make the connected story, getting acquainted in a personal way with the characters that figure in the textbooks may be regarded as the fundamental aim of biography. Textbooks have in general abandoned the principle of grouping events about men and have adopted the principle of grouping men about events. The old theory that events could be grouped about men never achieved real success. It used to be said, for example, and it was said many times, that pupils could learn from the life of George Washington all that they needed to know about the American Revolution. But this imposed restrictions upon the treatment both of Washington and of the Revolution. So much in no way related to Washington had to

¹ Edition of 1918, p. 11.

be told to represent the Revolution and so much in no way related to the Revolution had to be told to represent Washington that the result was usually a forced grouping which left Washington and the Revolution alike somewhat obscure. Edwin Erle Sparks, in *The Men Who Made the Nation*, applied the theory as effectively perhaps as it can be applied, but even his work fell short of proving his thesis "that at any given period of affairs one man will be found who is master of the situation, and events naturally group themselves about him."¹

Biography can, on the whole, be made more historical by making it more biographical, by grouping men about events rather than events about men, and by studying men first of all as men. Take the American Revolution. Surely not even George Washington himself is a sufficiently embracing center for making this movement intelligible. Nor is there any other hero of the revolutionary period who sums up in himself the characteristics of his age sufficiently to make his life the life of the times. There were many leaders and many different points of view. What were the determining views? Who were the advocates of them? What were the chief events in the struggle? Who were the men associated with them? There were Otis, John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Hutchinson, Franklin, Dickinson, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Washington, Pitt, Grenville, Lord North, and George III. What manner of men were they? What kind of homes did they come from? What educational advantages had they enjoyed? What was their social position? What were their personal characteristics? What was their occupation? Were they successful in private life? Were they good neighbors? Were they seekers after public office? Did they hold public positions? Who were their friends? Who were their enemies? What were their personal controversies and grievances? Up to this point the aim is merely to know the men as men, to think of them much as we think of our personal acquaintances. When now we turn to the principles and acts of the Revolution and meet our acquaintances, some on one side and some on the other, the whole movement is humanized for us. We see in the conflict between

¹ New York, 1900, p. v.

England and the colonies opposing principles, but we see also opposing personal tastes, interests, ambitions, and hopes. We see the cost to some and the gain to others, among those who took sides.

In connection with such studies in the senior high school, there should be some discussion of the nature of biography. As a species of literature it was so long associated with purposes other than the faithful portrayal of individual lives, and is still so often influenced by other purposes, that it is, on the whole, suspected of lagging behind history of the scientific type in its pursuit of truth. Much of the old biography was either so eulogistic or so hostile in tone that later biographers have found wide occupation in "debunking" characters or redressing their wrongs. Many a character has had his life written both by friends who saw no faults and by enemies who saw little except faults. Many a character has entered biography in a form designed to please his immediate family or his remote descendants. How friendship and consideration for the family may figure even in a great biography is shown by a letter which John Hay, under date of January 27, 1884, wrote to R. T. Lincoln.

"Dear Bob:—

"Nicolay tells me he has laid before you or is about to do so, the first volume of our history, containing the chapters in which I have described the first forty years of your father's life.

"I need not tell you that every line has been written in a spirit of reverence and regard. Still you may find here and there words or sentences which do not suit you. I write now to request that you will read with a pencil in your hand and strike out everything to which you object. I will adopt your view in all cases, whether I agree with it or not. . . ."¹

Sometimes striking omissions are openly avowed with the suggestion that certain things ought to be forgotten. Edward Stanwood in his *James Gillespie Blaine* devotes six pages to the encounter of April, 1866, between Blaine and Conkling. He indicates the nature of Conkling's speech and then continues: "It is not well to reproduce the reply of Mr. Blaine, one of the

¹ Thayer, William Roscoe, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, Boston. 1915, pp. 24-25.

most picturesque passages of sarcasm in literature, and all the more remarkable for having been uttered on the spur of the moment. . . . Yet the speech ought to be forgotten except as a classic in sarcasm.¹ This is of course a kind of hint likely to defeat its own purpose. If the reader is curious about the "classic," a convenient place to find it is in the *History of the United States* by James Ford Rhodes, Volume VII, page 211.

Teachers should know at least as much about the history of biography as can be gathered from a standard encyclopedia, and for the American field should consult *A History of American Biography, 1800-1935*, by Edward H. O'Neill. A critical reader may object to the proportions of this work and take exception to a good many of its judgments, but it brings into view for the first time the field as a whole and is, in the main, a guide of very high value.

Among questions to be raised in high school assignments of biographical topics or in assignments of biographies for book reviews, the following may be taken as examples: Who is the author of the biography? What kinds of sources does he use? Is the tone of the biography friendly or hostile? Was it written to please the family? Does it tell more about the man than about the times, or more about the times than about the man? Is the man so clearly presented that he can be visualized? Is the chief emphasis upon what went on inside of the mind of the man, his inner thoughts and feelings, and if so, how did the biographer find out such things?

In a class in world history a few of the great biographies of the world should be singled out for a little special discussion. There are of course biographies of the most famous biographers to which pupils may be sent for information. High school pupils may be interested in joining in a coöperative enterprise to find, let us say, the five outstanding biographies of the world.

Such materials for biography as autobiographies and other kinds of personal recollections have to a considerable extent been drawn upon by compilers of source books for schools, but there is a great mass of highly interesting material as yet untouched.

¹ Boston, 1908, p. 71.

Teachers unacquainted with the field might try reading to a class at any stage above a sixth grade the entry for April 30, 1789, in the *Journal of William Maclay*,¹ or Josiah Quincy's account of Andrew Jackson's visit to Boston, including the Harvard honorary degree,² or Hugh McCulloch's personal impressions of Andrew Johnson.³

A feature that often made the old textbooks interesting was the liberal use of anecdotes, often quite unauthentic, but always appealing to young readers. The more critical textbooks of later days may have gone too far in excluding the old anecdotes. The old theory that a short anecdote might reveal more of the character of a man than long pages of analysis or description is still sound. The published records of personal recollections are rich in anecdotes, and it would be a distinct service to schools if some competent investigator would make a collection representative of authentic anecdotes. It would not be an easy task. The disposition of anecdotes to travel, to mention only one difficulty, raises highly disturbing questions. In 1901-1902 the *New York Times* invited its readers to contribute anecdotes relating to prominent living Americans, and in its Sunday issues published page after page of responses. When the series ended it seemed as if most of the famous anecdotes in the world from antiquity down had attached themselves to living Americans.

Whatever may be thought of this or that specific use of biography or of the materials for biography, history for schools, without emphasis upon the personal element, is in a large sense, as Dr. Sparks suggested that it must be for any untrained reader, "an empty stage. However magnificently set, it is lifeless without the players."⁴

¹ *The Journal of William Maclay*, New York, 1927, pp. 6-9.

² Quincy, Josiah, *Figures of the Past*, Boston, 1883, pp. 352-365.

³ McCulloch, Hugh, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, New York, 1889, pp. 369-374.

⁴ Sparks, Edwin Erle, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, New York, 1900, p. v.

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

THE distinction between biography and history which has developed since the seventeenth century does not imply that the study of individuals has been completely differentiated from the study of social groups. Practically all works recognized as histories, from Herodotus down to the present, have been in part biographical. Most of them are in a measure subject to the charge of summing up humanity in terms of that relatively small number of individuals to whom the opinion of the world has awarded the crown of greatness, or at least of fame. Kings, generals, popes, bishops, and other officials in church and state, painters, sculptors, builders, and other creators of "great and marvelous works," orators on great public occasions, writers on great public questions, have as a matter of course been described. The difference is in the relative emphasis and general point of view. Biography, in the modern sense, aims primarily to depict the individual as an individual and recounts his service, or disservice, to the social group to indicate his importance as an individual. History aims primarily to depict the social group and deals with the acts, opinions, and characteristics of individuals, primarily for the purpose of illustrating or explaining group conditions and activities. There are, however, recent biographies that endeavor to set forth both the "life" and the "times," and there are recent histories, especially of the class concerned with smaller social groups — histories of towns, of cities, of counties — that reduce the "times" to a series of biographical sketches.

When history first began to find its way into the school curriculum, it presented itself, in the main, as an account of political and military events. Leaders and heroes figured conspicuously, for politics and war inevitably produce "outstanding characters." But the point of view was not consciously biographical.

The life to be portrayed was, so far as it went, group life, the life of nations, of principalities, of empires. This, in addition to being the kind of history that had commonly been written by historians, was a kind of history easy to organize and easy to arrange in the form of a connected narrative. It was, moreover, a kind of history that brought together a great many facts of the highest importance.

Almost from the beginning, however, there was a demand for a larger view of the field for school purposes. The demand was plainly voiced by Comenius. It was repeated again and again by later reformers, and toward the close of the eighteenth century began to make some impression upon school programs. Early nineteenth century conditions were somewhat unfavorable. The Napoleonic wars and the new patriotism tended to establish more firmly political and military history. Later the development of the biographical approach to history, with its insistence upon action and picturesqueness, tended to fix attention upon political and military leaders. But materials for a different kind of school history were, in the meantime, being made more accessible. The way was opened about the middle of the eighteenth century by Voltaire. His *Siecle de Louis XIV* was the first attempt in historical literature to portray the whole life of a period. His *Essai sur les Mœurs*, setting forth the moral, social, economic, artistic, and literary life of Europe, from Charlemagne to Louis XIII, was the first attempt to produce a real history of civilization. In Germany, Winckelmann looked to ancient art for a revelation of the Greek mind; Heeren traced the development of commerce; Möser, in his history of Osnabrück, furnished a model of social history, and, incidentally, discovered the peasant. Herder dealt with the folk soul, and Schlosser, in his *Weltgeschichte*, undertook a broad survey of the world. When Carlyle in 1830 asked "which was the greatest benefactor, he who gained the battles of Cannæ and Trasimene or the nameless poor who first hammered out for himself an iron spade," the nameless poor already had a considerable place in historical literature. Carlyle wished to enlarge it. "From of old," the historian had, he protested, too often "dwelt with dispropor-

tionate fondness in senate houses, in battle fields, nay, even in king's antechambers," forgetful of the rest of the world, "blossoming and fading whether the 'famous victory' were won or lost." A different and higher conception was now expected, and there were signs of a time coming "when he who sees no world but that of courts and camps, and writes only how soldiers were drilled and shot, and how this ministerial conjurer outconjured that other . . . will pass for a more or less instructive gazetteer, but will no longer be called an historian."¹

If these brave words were forgotten in Carlyle's later work, and if he wrote, after 1840, precisely the kind of history which he had condemned in 1830, Macaulay was more consistent. The perfect historian sketched by Macaulay in his essay on *History*, published in 1828, "shows us the court, the camp, and the senate. But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant for his notice which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line."² This idea Macaulay sought faithfully to realize in his *History of England*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1848, and the enormous popularity of the work was due in large part to success in achieving his ideal. The *History* was translated into the language of every civilized country and was read by all classes. Among the numerous testimonials which reached the author was a vote of thanks, carried at a meeting of workmen, "for having written a history which working men can understand."³

The widening horizon of historians began to be perceptible in

¹ Carlyle, Thomas, "Essay on History," in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Boston, 1860, 4 Volumes, Volume II, pp. 236-237.

² Macaulay, T. B., *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems*, Boston, 1880, 3 Volumes, I, 306.

³ Gooch, G. P., *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1913, p. 301.

school instruction in Germany about 1850. Weber's *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, published in 1847, was the product of a practical schoolmaster and grew out of his work as a teacher of history. It illustrated the possibility of summing up in a comprehensive survey, without neglecting either politics or war, the history of art, literature, science, religion, philosophy, and general cultural conditions. This work in the course of forty years passed through twenty editions and became the basis of innumerable textbooks for schools. It seems to have been the original model of most American textbooks in the field of general history.

About 1860 *Kulturgeschichte* began to assume the proportions of a general issue. In that year Biedermann published an essay of forty-five pages on *The Teaching of History in School, Its Defects, and a Proposal for a Remedy*. The defects which Biedermann saw were that history consisted of a mere succession of events and that its method was mere narration. History of this kind, in his opinion, exercised the memory only and overloaded that, much to the confusion of the understanding. It left the pupil almost entirely passive. "Shall history in school," he asked, "describe merely actions and, as performers of them, great personalities, or shall it concern itself with the general conditions of a time or people, shall it deal exclusively or chiefly with external, so-called political history (war, battles, treaties of peace, conquests, distributions of provinces, regents, generals, diplomats, etc.), or shall it deal also with the inner life of the people, . . . shall it present events in mere succession or according to their organic relations?"¹ The answer was that history in school should be a study of civilization

In Germany, for the remainder of the century, the *Kulturgeschichte* issue aroused almost continuous, and at times angry, debate. *Kulturgeschichte* proved a term difficult to define. To the schoolmaster it meant in general concrete illustrations of the non-political aspects of civilization. To the historian it might mean a blending of psychology and sociology, a study of the social

¹ *Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Schule, seine Mängel und ein Vorschlag zur Abhilfe*, Wiesbaden, 1885, pp. 5-45.

consciousness, the social mind, the social soul. Lamprecht, a leading advocate of the latter view, has declared that political history merely inquires with Ranke how it happened — “wie es eigentlich gewesen?” *Kulturgeschichte* asks how it became — “wie es eigentlich geworden?” The one is narrative in method, the other genetic.¹ The outstanding fact, so far as school instruction is concerned, is that, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the scope of history programs gradually broadened until, both in Germany and in other countries, the non-political aspects of civilization won recognition as at least an indispensable part of surveys of history for schools. To-day there is in all countries emphasis upon social and economic history, with a tendency, especially marked in the United States, to exalt the common man and the common life.

The changes thus indicated in conceptions of history for schools reflect political, social, and economic changes in the world at large. The growth of democracy, with its ideals of equal opportunity for all and the welfare of the whole, tended naturally to shift interest from leaders and heroes of the old type of the masses and to the men and measures that have forwarded the improvement of the masses. The industrial revolution created a new world and brought home to historians, as never before, the significance of past industrial life. One result was the economic interpretation of history, a search for explanations of human development in “the hard daily work on earth” rather than in “the shifting clouds of heaven.” A new industrial situation demanded a new industrial education and led to a searching reexamination of the whole educational system, with demands for readjustment, amounting, in some cases, to revolution. A new social consciousness and new conceptions of social efficiency developed. School instruction in history has, in consequence, been called upon to impress the lesson that progress comes through coöperation, acting together, thinking of the social welfare. It has, in common with other subjects, been called upon to socialize the pupil, to counteract the selfish instincts natural to the young, to show that no one can live for himself alone, that

¹ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1913, p. 588.

each will live better for himself by living for others. All of these influences have, as a matter of course, pointed to the study of group conditions and activities. School history has not been called upon so generally as might have been expected to make the social world really intelligible, but the social consciousness of our time seems to be leading us in that direction.

The study of group life as a whole is naturally more difficult than the study of group life as expressed in politics and war. Activities conducted by governmental agencies authorized to command obedience and able to exact it have a unity and continuity relatively easy to discern. They can even be described without taking much account of the characteristics either of the groups that command or of the groups that obey. A view of group life as a whole imposes at the outset the need of some analysis of the group. No human group is entirely homogeneous. It is a familiar fact that even within a small group, within a single family, there may be widely different abilities, tastes, interests, conduct, and character. The larger the group, the greater the variations. "The English nation comprises Welsh, Scotch, and Irish; the Catholic Church is composed of adherents scattered over the whole world, and differing in everything but religion. There is no group whose members have the same habits in every respect. The same man is at the same time a member of several groups, and in each group he has companions who differ from those he has in the others. A French Canadian belongs to the British Empire, the Catholic Church, the group of French-speaking people."¹

The search for characteristics common to any large social group is a complicated undertaking. The tendency is to assume that habits and usages practiced in a conspicuous manner by a part of the group characterize the group as a whole. This is often strikingly illustrated in the treatment of nations, the groups most frequently in evidence in school instruction in history. We learn that Americans love the almighty dollar, that the French love humanity, that the English "stick to it," that the Scotch have

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, New York, 1903, pp. 239-240.

no sense of humor, and that the Spaniards never do to-day what they can put off until to-morrow. Such dominant national characteristics, it has been urged, should stand out as the dominant facts in the teaching of history and should be vividly impressed upon the minds of the pupils. Picture, for example, a tempestuous night in London and a cabman sitting erect and serene on his box, oblivious of raging wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, as ready for a fare as under the most smiling of skies. That, according to a well-known American lecturer on education, is England, and there is the secret of England's greatness.

The objection to such sweeping summaries of national traits is not only that they attribute to an entire group the characteristics of a part of the group, but that they imply an absence of those characteristics in other national groups. The love of money did not, of course, begin in America and is not peculiar to American citizens. If with us the chase for the almighty dollar is on the part of those engaged in it more active than in Europe, it may be merely because on this side of the Atlantic there are more dollars to chase. There are, of course, non-Frenchmen who love humanity and Frenchmen who do not, non-Englishmen who "stick to it" and Englishmen who do not, non-Scotchmen who are defective in their sense of humor and Scotchmen who are not, non-Spaniards who procrastinate and Spaniards who do not. England personified in a cabman is effective as a mode of presentation. The induction is marred by the possibility of duplicating it on precisely the same grounds for almost any other country. There are cabmen in Paris, in Munich, in Berlin, and even in New York and Chicago, who may be observed sitting equally erect and serene through night and storm.

Schools that now introduce the study of social groups at the beginning of the course in history usually start with the family, pass on to the school, and then out to the community in which the school is situated. The materials and treatment, as actually managed for young children, are, on the whole, simpler and more intelligible than those afforded by the biographical approach. The simplification is at times extreme. Children of six are in

some cases formally taught that they eat at tables, sleep in beds, have fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, friends, and toys. Schoolroom experiences, the school playground, and the concrete facts of school organization offer equally obvious illustrations of group conditions, activities, and relations. The community outside of the school may be introduced either through studies of individuals who perform special social service, or through a study of some special trade, art, or industry related to the immediate neighborhood. In the first case, the study may begin by following on their rounds the milkman, the grocer's delivery clerk, the street cleaner, the garbage collector, the postman, the policeman, the doctor. Gradually expanding in scope, it may in time make the children conscious of classes in the community and give them general views of occupations, industries, commerce, manners and customs, food, dress, amusements, and whatever else may be considered suitable for illustration of group life. In the second case, the starting point may be a factory near the school, or some industry from which a considerable number of homes in the neighborhood derive their income. In a small community there is often some overshadowing economic interest. The source of wealth may be very largely oil, or coal, or wheat, or potatoes, or broomcorn. The way is then entirely clear. In a large community the problem is complicated by the greater diversity of economic interests, but the principle of selecting what touches the daily life of the homes in the neighborhood can still be applied to some extent.

Materials of this concrete character relating not only to present but to past group conditions and activities in the community can be introduced as early as the first grade. They can be so selected and so treated as to convey even to a first grader rudimentary ideas of change and of continuity, and, incidentally, of the nature of historical evidence. For children living on Manhattan Island, for example, the work may begin with a glance at changes visibly in progress in the neighborhood of the school, old buildings disappearing, new buildings being erected, families moving out of and into the neighborhood, shops going out of business, shops opening for business. These readily suggest questions that carry

the children back to a time when there were no buildings like those we now see, when there were no shops, no streetcars, and not even streets; a time when there were no people like ourselves living on the island. Hints of how the island then looked are still conveyed by occasional bits of virgin soil. Other hints can be given through pictures and through the use of the sand table. Two or three lessons will be sufficient to sweep from the island the white man and all his ways and open up the long ago of Indian occupation. Most first-grade children have already heard of Indians. If asked how they know Indians once lived on Manhattan Island, they will sometimes answer that they have heard stories about Indians, and sometimes that they have actually seen bows and arrows and tomahawks used by Indians. The list of relics can easily be extended. The next step is to form a picture of Indian life: dwellings, food, work, play, weapons, tools, ornaments, clothing, painted faces. There should be a visit to the Museum of Natural History. There should be photographs and models in the classroom. The children can themselves construct an Indian "house" and imitate simple Indian industries. Let them develop from the "house" some of the problems of Indian life in such a "house." How would they sleep? how sit down? how get out and in? how eat their meals? how keep warm in winter? where store food? where do the cooking? Let them consider in a similar way occupations outside of the "house," hunting, fishing, gardening, always keeping clear what Manhattan Island itself was like, the water surrounding it, vegetation, kinds of game and fish. The picture is completed by the telling of stories which Indians told about themselves.

So far the lessons have dealt almost entirely with conditions. The events celebrated in Indian tradition are obscure and in the main improbable. The conditions of Indian life have, it is assumed, been compared and contrasted with the conditions under which the children themselves live. We now turn to events, the first and greatest of which is the coming of the white man. There is at this stage no occasion for any reference to Europe or to the question of how Europeans discovered America. The white men may be allowed to burst upon the vision of the children

as they burst upon the vision of the Indians. The ideal arrangement would be to take the class up Riverside Drive and follow Hudson's progress up the river in Juet's narrative. Juet, the children should be informed, was there.¹ To the story as he told it should be added the story as told by the Indians themselves and written down long afterward by a white man.²

The contact between Indians and white men suggests numerous questions of interest to children. How did they manage to talk with each other? What would white men coming up the river for the first time want to know? What signs would they make? What answering signs would the Indians make? Did the Indians have a real language? What was it like? The information is either directly supplied by early narratives or readily inferred from them.³ Attention is again called to the appearance and customs of the Indians as set forth in accounts written by white men, and the children are made conscious that it is through these accounts we learn most of what we know about Indian life on Manhattan Island.

With the establishment of the Dutch on the Island another chapter of life opens, to be developed in a manner similar to that suggested for the study of the Indians, with the addition of incidents illustrating the relations between the Dutch and the Indians, and comparisons and contrasts between Dutch and Indian life. The coming of the English can be treated in the manner suggested for the coming of the Dutch and can be followed by an account of life in early New York similar to that proposed for Dutch and Indian life. Under a skillful teacher the three phases can be compassed by a first grade in a single year and can be so bound together as to make a connected story.

For children who begin in the lower grades with biography and reach in the upper grades the study of social groups, work of a somewhat more ambitious character is possible. The community is, let us say, one in which the chief agricultural product is

¹ *Narratives of New Netherland*, New York, 1909, pp. 16-28. Volume in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner's, New York, 1906-1919.

² Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, New York, 1898, pp. 290-296.

³ See *Narratives of New Netherland*, New York, 1909.

broomcorn, and the chief local industry, the manufacture of brooms. A considerable proportion of the inhabitants may be engaged in raising broomcorn, in buying and selling broomcorn, or in making brooms, and many of the children in the school may already be looking forward to one or the other of these occupations. The study may then begin with the broomcorn producing group, the conditions of planting and harvesting, the appearance of the crop, the mode of transporting it to market, and the money it brings. The producers, it is observed, have a considerable amount of leisure. They crowd the public square of the town on a Saturday afternoon for no other purpose apparently than that of indulging their social instincts. On Mondays they come to town again in large numbers to do their trading. The crop seems to be profitable. Bank accounts are so common that interest on deposits ceased long ago. From the producers, the study may pass on to dealers in broomcorn, the conditions of buying, storing, and selling, and then on to the factories in which brooms are made, the workers, the machinery used, the output. The relations of the groups to each other, to the community, and to the world beyond the community are easily illustrated. One season a few buyers attempt a "corner" in broomcorn. The price advances rapidly from \$90 a ton to \$200 a ton. This is highly gratifying to the farmers. The factories raise the price of brooms. This is not gratifying to consumers of brooms. Some dealers and some owners of factories begin to look to other countries for raw material. One dealer discovers broomcorn in Bohemia and imports a cargo at a cost of less than \$100 a ton, with a prospect of being able to secure more later at a cost of \$60 a ton. Thereupon the member of Congress representing an American broomcorn district introduces a bill providing for a duty on broomcorn to protect American industry. A wide range of social, economic, and political conditions can, it is evident, be explained by broomcorn alone.

Having been made duly conscious of group conditions and activities dependent upon broomcorn in the present, the pupil is prepared to understand group conditions and activities dependent upon broomcorn or other products in the past. The step, as

already noted, is attended with some danger of confusion to the historical sense. There is an inborn tendency to carry the environment of the present into the past. The deeper the consciousness of the present, the stronger the inclination to transport it, especially when, as is very often the case, teachers lay great emphasis upon resemblances between past and present. Resemblances should not be overlooked, but the corrective furnished by emphasis upon differences between past and present should also be constantly applied.

The study of social groups on the relatively small scale thus far indicated admits, without great difficulty, of connected views and of a continuous, concrete narrative of development. The study of groups on a larger scale, the life of nations, to say nothing of the life of humanity as a whole, is quite a different matter. The application of the point of view to history in general is limited for some peoples, especially those of the remoter past, by the inadequacy of available sources. The daily life of some countries can scarcely be known at all. For other peoples it is limited by the very abundance of materials. *Kulturgeschichte*, dealing with the thoughts and feelings of a generalized social soul, is admittedly barred from the elementary and secondary school, and the massing of details for a series of pictures has thus far failed to achieve coherence, sequence, connection, continuity.

Biedermann saw the difficulty and tried to meet it. Beginning with children of ten he proposed to sum up German history in twelve *Kulturbilder*, as follows: (1) Germans at the beginning of the Christian era; (2) the Frankish kingdom, 500; (3) the Carolingian kingdom, 800; (4) German kingship in the tenth century; (5) the fall of German kingship in the thirteenth century; (6) the triumph of the provincial princes in the fourteenth century; (7) beginnings of reform, 1500; (8) end of religious strife, 1555; (9) Peace of Westphalia, 1648; (10) accession of Frederick II, 1740; (11) end of the Empire, 1806, or the Congress of Vienna, 1815; (12) contemporary conditions. The plan was to make each picture a fairly detailed representation of social conditions and to bridge the intervals by looking back from each picture to the preceding picture, noting the differences, and then seeking, in the

intervening period, the causes of any change in conditions suggested by such differences.¹

Biedermann's plan simplifies the problem of selection. It provides the pupil with definite material, and, what is still more important, gives him something, beyond mere memorizing, to do with the material after it has been presented. German critics have, indeed, complained that it gives the pupil too much to do, that it puts an unreasonable strain upon his self-activity. There is the further objection that the manner of connecting the pictures does not achieve real continuity.

Various other plans for organizing the material have been proposed. Cultural conditions have been surveyed in the order suggested by the culture-epoch theory. This brings together peoples in the same stage of development without regard to chronology or geography and is, perhaps, the most confusing, to the historical sense of pupils, of all arrangements. Special forms of social development have been singled out for separate treatment in different years of the school course — the history of the family and the home in one year, the history of mechanical inventions in another year, the history of intellectual life in still another year. This has the merit of securing orderly sequence for each special form of development, but at the expense of those relations to other forms of development so essential to any clear conception of social groups.

For more comprehensive organization various general systems of classification have been proposed, ranging from mere tabulation of types of facts to philosophies of history. An early example of tabulation may be found in Joseph Priestley's *Essay on Education*, published in 1765. "The method," wrote Priestley, "in which I have thought proper to explain the history of England is, to divide the whole into separate periods, and to digest all the materials relating to each under certain important heads." There are fifty-two heads and five of them are subdivided. Under these heads, always followed in the same order, boys of sixteen to seventeen years of age were brought into contact with

¹ Biedermann, *Der Geschichtsunterricht auf Schulen nach Kulturgeschichtlicher Methode*, Wiesbaden, 1885, pp. 23-45.

every phase of life in England from the earliest times to their own day.¹ Similar systems, but usually less formidable in scope, have been devised by other teachers. Many of the outlines so popular in normal schools of the nineteenth century were of this type. Such outlines are still in use but have now largely given way to the more ancient form of syllabi which analyze the field to be covered without providing any general system of classification. Priestley followed the syllabus pattern in organizing his courses in general history and the government of England. In the United States it is now a rare school in which teachers are not following a syllabus in almost every subject, and so many syllabi are being published that they must be a source of considerable revenue to local printers.

Philosophic approaches to the problem of organizing history for schools have usually involved some central principle of classification professing applicability to any social group at any stage of development. The general character of such approaches can be sufficiently illustrated by citing two American contributions, one of them by William H. Mace and the other by Leon C. Marshall and Rachel Marshall Goetz.

Professor Mace took as his central principle "the growth of institutional life, because," he said, "this idea touches and is touched by all the great events which mark the course of human destiny. Some events have helped and some have hindered the evolution of institutional life, but all have been related to it. Not only is this principle fundamental to all events, but also to all sub-phases of human thought and feeling, whether they have characterized periods of calm or periods of agitation, — periods of evolution or periods of revolution."² Earlier in his discussion Professor Mace had explained what he meant by institutional life. "An examination of the life of any people," he wrote, "will reveal certain permanent features common to the history of all civilized nations. There will be found five well-marked phases, — a political, a religious, an educational, an industrial, and a

¹ For a list of the heads, see Johnson, Henry, *Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools*, New York, 1932, pp. 64-67.

² Mace, William H., *Method in History*, Boston, 1897, p. 21.

social phase. These are further differentiated by the fact that each has a great organization, called an institution, around which it clusters, and whose purpose, plan of work, and machinery are peculiar to itself. For political ideas the center is the institution called government; for religious ideas, the church; for educational and cultural influences, the school; for industrial life, occupation; and for social customs, the family.”¹

Professor Mace’s principle of classification found special favor in normal schools and was thus passed on, with his effective illustrations, to hundreds of teachers. But when teachers endeavored to carry the principle beyond those illustrations they found many facts which refused to lean on any of the five institutions, and yet were facts which it seemed necessary to teach. The institutional view was associated with the philosophy of Arnold Tompkins² and lost most of its appeal when that philosophy, which had been regarded by many as the profoundest educational thinking of the age, passed to oblivion under the rising star of John Dewey. Much of Professor Mace’s analysis of the teaching process is, however, still valuable.

The contribution of Dr. Marshall and Mrs. Goetz has already been mentioned. Their “social process approach to instruction in the social studies” may be described as a sociological analysis of the historical idea of development. The same description would fit the institutional approach. Institutions are phases of human development. But development itself is not an institution. Development *is* itself a process, is in fact the “social process” and by direct analysis into processes becomes the “social process approach.” The place of the idea of development both in the writing and in the teaching of history has been pointed out in earlier chapters of the present volume, and the author has for more than forty years been urging that this idea should be elevated to the rank of a controlling aim in shaping history for schools. But the idea of reducing “our multifarious human activities” to “a small number of great processes . . . common

¹ *Ibid.*, p. II.

² For the philosophy of Arnold Tompkins, see his *Philosophy of Teaching*, Boston, 1894.

to all types of society" and significant "throughout the length and breadth of human history" is new as a basis for school programs. The "great processes," as seen by Dr. Marshall and Mrs. Goetz, are:

- A. The Process of Adjustment with the External Physical World.
 1. The Process of Learning to Manipulate Natural Forces.
 2. The Process of Organizing to Manipulate These Forces — the Economic Order.
 3. The Process of the Distribution of the Population over the Physical and Cultural Areas of the Earth.
- B. The Process of Biological Continuance and Conservation.
- C. The Process of Guiding Human Motivation and Aspiration.
 1. The Process of Establishing Value Standards or Norms.
 2. The Process of Securing Minimum Adherence to Value Standards or Norms.
- D. The Process of Developing and Operating the Agencies of Social Organization.
- E. The Process of Securing and Directing Cultural Continuance and Cultural Change.
- F. The Process of Personality Molding.

The classification "is frankly opportunistic" and "is concerned primarily with presenting a point of view and a methodology which, with a minimum of disruption and revolutionary change, can be used in connection with present-day materials and school organization." The "processes," as elaborated by the authors, offer a philosophy of social living through the ages with direct suggestions for the social studies that go beyond "helping youth merely to *understand* the social order in which their lives will be lived. We find in human history evidence of learning capacity and power of adjustment which indicates that the human animal is, within limits that are not narrow, capable of molding his physical environment, his social environment, and even himself to the requirements of his evolving aspirations. For that increasing number of us to whom this outlook has rich meaning, effective participation in an evolving society means *participation with intent to control* — at least in the sense of manipulation."¹

Beyond "presenting a point of view and a methodology" the

¹ Marshall, Leon C., and Goetz, Rachel M., *Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies*, New York, 1936, pp. 4, 12, 13, 15-16.

authors do not go. They give no samples of how existing programs in the social studies would be affected by adjustment to the social process approach and offer no specific program of their own. What they suggest is broad enough for a program embracing all humanity from the first dawning of historical consciousness down to the present and boldly predicting the proximate future. But, since the "processes" are common to all societies, the past, present, and future of a single society, and even of a single local community, may be deemed sufficient illustration of all that is claimed for the social process approach. The Commission of the College Entrance Examination Board, in applying the approach, limited the field, as we have seen, to western Europe and the United States. Such latitude is not peculiar to the social process approach. It will be found in any system of classifying factors common to all types of society. Other variations are possible. Within any field selected for its operation, the social process approach may, as in the case of the program proposed by the Commission of the College Entrance Examination Board, lead to strong emphasis upon historical continuity; it may, on the other hand, turn so severely functional as to be destructive of historical continuity. Here again it is to be observed that any system of classifying factors common to all types of society will be subject to similar variations. Even a system designed specifically for history may invite strictly functional applications. The social process approach, while based upon history, was of course not designed as a special approach to history. It was designed as a general approach to all the social studies and, as such, will inevitably be subject to strictly functional applications. Dr. Marshall and Mrs. Goetz lay down a limiting condition in their strong emphasis upon sound scholarship as essential to any application and it is clear that without sound scholarship their plan would quickly sink to the superficial level which many other plans for the social studies have already reached.

For teachers of history it may be useful to compare systems of classification designed for schools with systems designed for the guidance of historians. A tabulation by Langlois and Seignobos in their *Introduction to the Study of History*, first published in

1897, may still be cited as a sufficient illustration of tabulation for historians. Any one who examines this table will wish to read the entire chapter in which it occurs and will find there fundamental suggestions still pertinent in checking the comprehensiveness of social studies programs.¹

The organization of history for schools began with textbooks in the subject and until about the middle of the eighteenth century varied with the individual conceptions of textbook writers. After 1750 official programs began to shape the content and organization of history, and textbook writers began to follow the official programs. On the continent of Europe, official programs have now for more than a century been the determining influence. In the United States, organization was almost exclusively vested in textbook writers until the close of the nineteenth century, and to some extent this condition still persists.² But since 1900 textbooks have been largely shaped by the recommendations of national committees, by requirements of the College Entrance Examination Board, and, more recently, by the vast increase of local activity in the construction of programs due to the social studies movement. The growing agreement that improvement in the scholarship of teachers is a fundamental need may reasonably be expected in time to bear fruit in repentance of much that now passes as a study of social groups.

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, New York, 1903, pp. 232-251. For the tabulation, see pp. 234-235. The table is reproduced in the earlier edition of Johnson, *Teaching of History*, New York, 1915, pp. 199-200.

² A striking illustration is furnished by the Rugg series of textbooks.

CHAPTER VIII

MAKING THE PAST REAL

HOWEVER history may be conceived, and whatever may be the aims set up for historical instruction, the fundamental condition of making history effective in the classroom is to invest the past with an air of reality. The condition is itself fairly obvious and has, since the eighteenth century, been almost continuously impressed upon teachers. It is today summed up in countless assertions to the effect that history should be made "vivid" and "alive." The general process involved is clear. To make the past real is to image material conditions and events and to reproduce in ourselves some semblance of the mental states that determined these conditions or events or were determined by them.

The most effective appeal to the sense of reality is, of course, through reality itself. "A walk through Normandy," says John Richard Green, at the opening of his chapter on Normandy and the Normans, "teaches one more of the age of our history which we are about to traverse than all the books in the world."¹ "A walk through Normandy" is a privilege reserved for the few, but a walk through some Normandy is possible for all. Every community offers at least the community itself, a local geographical environment, local remains, and local customs. Everywhere materials are provided for making the local past real. The community may, it is true, be one in which nothing of importance to the world at large ever seems to have happened. The richer the associations, the better. Better the Seven Hills of Rome for an outlook upon world history than any number of hills that may be counted from a crossroads school in America. But all ground associated with human life is in a true sense historic ground. All products of human art or industry are historic products.

¹ Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People*, New York, 1916, p. 71.

All human customs are historic customs. The radius of fame is not the only measure of the significance of a community in the teaching even of world history. Any local past properly realized not only contributes in a general way to a feeling of reality in dealing with the larger past, but supplies specific elements for reconstructing the larger past. This is not the only reason why teachers and pupils in any community should know the past and present of the community, but it is a sufficient reason.

There is need of emphasis here. Teachers of history in unfavored communities are sufficiently aware that teachers of history in favored communities should not, and probably do not, neglect local resources. Yet favored communities are no more real than unfavored communities. The need of building historical knowledge upon the direct personal experiences of the pupil is no greater in the one case than in the other. In every community there should be, not merely such casual use of the local past and present as may happen to occur to the teacher, but a systematic search of local resources for points from which the pupil may begin his journeys to the past and to which he may return.¹ The result should be an added sense of the reality both of the past and of the present.

In many communities the field open to direct exploration is greatly enlarged by the presence of material consciously collected, consciously preserved, or consciously constructed to represent past realities. There are museums that contain actual relics, and models of relics, of different ages and countries. There are gardens, parks, monuments, homes with their furniture and interior decoration, churches and various other kinds of buildings, that reproduce conceptions developed and applied in other times by other communities. Few teachers are likely to be so blind as the one who is reported to have carried on an elaborate discussion of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns without discovering, or leading her pupils to discover, that the entrance to their own schoolhouse was flanked by striking, though somewhat crude, examples of the Doric order. Most teachers are likely to make

¹ A good example of the systematic use of the community is furnished by Weyrich, Edgar, *Anschaulicher Geschichtsunterricht*, Wien, 1920. The community is Vienna.

at least casual reference to such materials. But here again the references should be systematic and persistent.

The materials, it must be confessed, are not always readily accessible. Even museums may fail to reflect a distinctly historical motive. They may be designed for the convenience of sight-seers rather than for the convenience of students of history. Many outsiders have looked with envy upon such arrangements as those of the National Museum in Munich, or of the Northern Museum in Stockholm, arrangements that enable the observer to follow step by step historical development. Stockholm has in addition an outdoor museum, an inclosure of some seventy acres, showing Sweden in miniature, hills and valleys, brooks, ponds, woods, fields and pastures, flora and fauna, and what is still more interesting, actual dwellings from different districts and periods, with their actual furnishings and with attendants dressed in the costumes of the districts and periods represented. Henry Ford has shown the possibilities for the United States in his remarkable "Edison Institute Museum and Greenfield Village" at Dearborn, Michigan. Some historic houses have been transported to the "Village," and some others have been carefully reproduced with appropriate historic furnishings.

Of museums in general it should be said that the directors are, as a rule, keenly interested in the problems of the schoolroom and willing, to the full limit of their powers, to coöperate with teachers. Often temporary rearrangements of materials, and even the temporary enlargement of special collections through loans, can be secured for the asking. Furthermore, the school can itself be made a repository of local antiquities, or at least of materials that will some day become antiquities.¹

Appeals to reality within the community were strongly urged in the eighteenth century and naturally became prominent in the community approach to history. In some countries, notably in Germany, firsthand studies of the community and of neighboring communities were greatly facilitated by making school excursions a part of the curriculum, by utilizing holidays, and

¹ See Page, "A working museum of history," in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, pp. 77-80.

by low railway fares. The school excursion as developed by Professor Rein was prized for the reality which it imparted to geography, nature study, history, and other subjects. It was also prized for the open-air exercise which it brought, for the initiative and freedom it made possible, for the opportunity it created for social training, — for advantages, that is, commonly associated in the United States with school athletics. School excursions are now generally recognized as valuable, and in the United States, commonly under the name of field trips, have been given greater impetus by the social studies movement. Some of these field trips offer weeks of study and observation and embrace thousands of miles of travel.

Further assistance in reconstructing the material past is supplied by numerous aids to visualization designed specifically for school use. Here are included casts, models, pictures, maps, charts, and diagrams. The need of such aids has been recognized ever since the seventeenth century, and in the nineteenth century brought, in some European countries, responses for about every phase of human development which admits of visual representation. In the United States we have long had an abundance of pictures, maps, charts, and diagrams, and in the manufacture of casts and models for use in history lessons have in recent years made considerable progress. Pennsylvania, thanks to the W.P.A., has an especially notable collection of unusual material, including models, for distribution among the schools of the State.¹

For obvious reasons casts and models of actual relics offer a nearer approach to the originals than any other form of representation. By means of them innumerable smaller objects can be reproduced, substantially in every detail, and may, for all purposes except the purely aesthetic, be as serviceable as the originals. Larger objects can be similarly represented on a reduced scale and may thus in some cases be made more manageable than the originals. A battlefield, for example, may in its actuality be so large and so complicated as to be difficult to compass even when one is on the ground. A good model may

¹ See 1938 catalogue issued at 46 North Cameron Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

bring all the essentials within a single sweep of the eye. Usually, however, reduced models are necessarily less serviceable than the originals.

Germans early took the lead in the manufacture of models for use in history lessons. For the field of ancient history there are the Hensell series, the Rausch and Blümner series, and the Gall and Rebhann series. Among models of special interest in the Hensell series are a typical Roman house and types of wearing apparel used by the Greeks and Romans, with a small lay figure for displaying the apparel. A larger and better model of a Roman house, life-size Greek and Roman wearing apparel, and a life-size figure for displaying the apparel are included in the Rausch and Blümner series. The figure has interchangeable heads, one Greek and the other Roman. The field of German history from prehistoric times to the nineteenth century is represented by the Rausch series of more than two hundred models, many of them as suitable for illustrating general European history as for illustrating German history. All of these models are constructed with scrupulous regard for accuracy. Those based upon verbal description have behind them minute research. Those which reproduce actual relics have, for smaller objects, the exact size, shape, and color of the originals, and are often of the very kind of material from which the originals were constructed. Models of larger objects are carefully made to scale.

Ordinary pictures are more abstract than models. They cannot, like models, be seen from different standpoints that introduce different backgrounds. A single picture of a person or object is, therefore, necessarily incomplete. An impressionist painter, we are informed, needs twenty canvases, numerous changes of position, and all the changes of light from sunrise to sunset adequately to portray a hayrick.¹ The number of canvases that would be needed adequately to portray a human being is not stated, but the principle would seem to require a still greater number. Some painters have met the condition by exhibiting on a single canvas different poses of the same person. Some photographers who advertise their ability to make us "see our-

¹ Adams, John, *Exposition and Illustration in Teaching*, New York, 1910, p. 337.

selves as others see us" are now willing to take us in triplicate, and even in larger groups of ourselves. Pictures are really less simple and obvious than they seem, and treatises on how to look at them are by no means superfluous.

Pictorial illustration has long been a familiar feature of American textbooks in history. In the older books the connection between the pictures and the text was often too obscure to encourage any special use of the pictures, and this may have been a merit, for many of the pictures were absurdly unhistorical. In the newer books the pictures, while still often offensively imaginative, are usually placed where they fit the text and are accompanied by the kind of verbal description which is needed to make pictures really intelligible. A better arrangement than is possible in textbooks may be found in the historical albums long in use in Europe and well represented by such works as Cybulski, *Die Kultur der Griechen und Römer*; Fougères, *La vie privée et publique des Grecs et des Romains*; and Lavisse and Parmentier, *Album historique* in four volumes, covering European history. For American history the most notable achievement of the album type is *The Pageant of America*, fifteen volumes of text and pictures. The arrangement is by topics, each of which is unfolded in chronological order but with less appeal to the sense of development than some European albums. The historical descriptions and appraisals of pictures leave something to be desired, and the text itself contains regrettable errors, but the work as a whole is so valuable that it ought to be in every school library. The publishers could render further service by selecting, from their great mass of pictures and text, material for about two volumes so organized as to make a continuous story of American development.

A gruesome but very effective example of what may be done with pictures unaccompanied by text is furnished by *The First World War, a Photographic History*, compiled by Laurence Stallings.

Another kind of visual aid is the wall picture. Wall pictures, like maps, are designed to be seen by the entire class. Especially noteworthy are Lehmann's *Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder für den*

Schulunterricht and Cybulski's *Tabulae quibus antiquitates Graecae et Romanae illustrantur*. The pictures in both of these series are constructed with minute attention to accuracy of detail, and are reproduced in colors. Inferior to these, but still useful, are Lavisse and Parmentier's *Tableaux d'Histoire de la Civilisation Française* and Longman's historical wall pictures illustrating English history. Some schools both in Europe and America have crowded their walls with posters obtainable at little or no cost from travel bureaus, steamship companies, railways, and other commercial advertisers. Many of these are superior to wall pictures prepared especially for schools.

When we enter the field of posters, postcards, pictures in books, magazines, and newspapers, there is an embarrassment of riches for the entire world, with various devices for projecting almost any picture on a screen. The stereopticon, to mention only the most familiar of projection devices, has opened a field as broad as photography. Immense stocks of lantern slides have been accumulated for sale or rental or free loans to schools through commercial and educational agencies scattered throughout the civilized world, and especially numerous in the United States. An outstanding American achievement is a set of five hundred slides of subjects covered by pictures in *The Pageant of America*. There are, however, many other large producers of historical slides. Teachers who do not find what they want already listed can at any time have slides made to order.

From the point of view of critical history, many of the historical slides now available are highly objectionable. The first historical slides were almost entirely fanciful and established a bad tradition still too often followed. Discriminating teachers may discourage this tradition by calling only for slides with claims to historical authenticity.

An advance beyond flat pictures appeared about one hundred years ago in the stereoscope, which gave the effect of three dimensions and an impression of size and distance similar to that obtained by the natural eye in the position from which the picture was taken. The stereoscope soon became a familiar object on parlor tables, entered Sunday schools with views of the Holy

Land, and, after losing its appeal to the general public, bounded into favor in schools with the new emphasis upon visual instruction. Extensive materials of high educational value were provided by producers like Underwood and Underwood of New York City. An obstacle to wide use in schools was the cost of duplicating materials so that every member of a class could be looking at the same picture at the same time, and further development was checked by the arrival of moving pictures.

The condition which makes it possible for pictures to create an illusion of motion is the persistence of vision. The human eye retains the image of an object for about one sixteenth of a second even though the object itself may have been visible for only one tenth of that time. The persistence of vision was discovered in antiquity, but the application that gave us moving pictures did not begin to be made until about 1830. Sixty years of experimentation followed, with scientists and inventors in half a dozen countries working at the idea and securing patents that led to complicated litigation, lasting until about 1915 and greatly retarding progress. Among those attracted to the field was Thomas A. Edison, and his kinetoscope, shown to wondering thousands at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, produced real motion pictures, but without screen projection. The next year the projection problem was solved by several inventors and in 1896 moving pictures began to appear in theaters. The subjects were at first brief episodes which soon grew monotonous, and public interest was rapidly waning when photoplays began to appear. With these, about 1905, came American "nickelodeons," five-cent shows which quickly spread over the land, much to the profit of owners of vacant stores and other unoccupied buildings. Production on the lavish scale of the present was inaugurated in 1915 by *The Birth of a Nation*, a picture which packed theaters from coast to coast. Sound was successfully added to pictures in 1929, and since then "talking movies" have daily and nightly thrilled more millions than any other form of public entertainment, except the radio.

The educational possibilities of moving pictures appeared at least as early as the Edison kinetoscope. In 1896 Edison

announced a "projecting kinetoscope" which later invited school tests. About 1910 some crude history pictures made for a projecting kinetoscope were shown at Teachers College, Columbia University. But the first important history enterprise was that of the Yale University Press, which in 1921 began to produce the *Chronicles of America Photoplays*, designed for service both in schools and in commercial theaters. The double objective interfered somewhat with a full recognition of either interest, but the pictures proved of undoubted value for historical instruction and are still in extensive use, in spite of a growing number of historical films with sound. Other pioneers in the field were the Eastman Teaching Films, the RCA Phototone, the General Electric Laboratories, and the Fox Film Corporation. The president of the Fox Corporation in 1931 undertook an extensive enterprise in pictures with sound for use in the social studies. In one series President Atwood of Clark University lectured on geography. Professor Holcombe of Harvard combined lectures with dramatization in a series on civics, and the present writer, combining lectures with dramatization, did a fourth series entitled *When Our National Songs Were New* and a fifth series designed to constitute a connected course in American history. Six of the songs and six of the history pictures, staged by professional actors under the direction of Louis de Rochemont, had been completed when the depression brought the whole enterprise to an untimely end and buried all the films in the Fox Library. But enough was done to prove that moving pictures with sound can, and no doubt some day will, achieve complete continuity in the treatment of history.

As records of contemporary happenings, moving pictures with sound approximate reality itself. As records of reconstructed happenings, their validity depends, of course, upon the reconstruction. Much havoc has been wrought by dramatization utterly at variance with facts established by historians, and this has raised anew the old question: Has history any rights entitled to respect by those who use history "to point a moral or adorn a tale"? Of the worst of historical films, including those prepared for school use, it may be said in extenuation that their inaccura-

cies and distortions, except in being more effective, are no worse than those which figure throughout the world in textbooks for young children and, in some countries, even in textbooks for secondary schools. But this is no justification for the historical sins of either. Fortunately for history there are producers of historical films for theaters whose passion for historical veracity is as strong as that of the most exacting historical scholar. Of the best of their productions it may be said in high praise that in details of actor make-up, furniture, houses, landscape, and other externals, they are as accurate as exhaustive and critical investigation of all the available sources can make them, that gaps left by the sources are filled with discretion, and that, while some liberties are taken with known facts, the essential verities of atmosphere are faithfully and convincingly reproduced. Historical films designed for schools are naturally less romantic, are produced at much lower cost, and, even when directed by scholars, often make large concessions to errors consecrated by elementary school tradition.

Before sound had been added to motion pictures the radio arrived. Professional broadcasting began about 1920 and within four years became a commonplace. Here again educators began at once to consider possible applications to school instruction and made such rapid progress that by 1930 treatises on radio instruction, guides to material available in different countries, and even a "school of the air" had already appeared. Sounds from all over the world now reverberate in classrooms and, with television already above the horizon, pupils, either in school or at home, may soon be seeing as well as hearing the great events of the world while they are actually happening. With television the radio will no doubt become a vehicle for representations similar to those of motion pictures and may be called upon to transmit motion pictures themselves. For purposes of school and college instruction the radio has already come into extensive use. A few "schools of the air" are today offering something like systematic courses in certain subjects. So much has been achieved and so rapidly that it may not be altogether preposterous to predict that some day there may be "colleges of the

air" with curricula sufficient in scope to warrant the granting of college degrees by radio.

Radio programs for the general public are conceived in a spirit of tolerance for all kinds of tastes and for all grades of intelligence. They bring us the spoken words of leaders in every field of human endeavor. We can hear the proceedings of political conventions, of legislative assemblies, and of innumerable other kinds of assemblies. There are commentators of great ability and world-wide experience to give meaning to the news of the day. There are comedians whose jokes carry keen comment on social tendencies. There is the inspiration of glorious music interpreted by perfect orchestras and the greatest of living singers. There is clean entertainment of so many kinds that any IQ may find its appropriate satisfaction. There are also broadcasts which may be classed as offensively trivial or offensively frivolous or offensively vulgar. There is the advertising so essential to radio activities as now organized and so largely responsible for programs. Associated with much that is best and all that is worst, the advertising itself seems in large part to be designed for rather low stages of intelligence. But advertising has its own tested psychology and can point with pride to the results. Advertising is a social phenomenon of such importance that analysis of advertising should have a place in every social studies program.

How real the radio can make things was strikingly illustrated when a dramatized version of the *Martians* went on the air. In this version of the Wells story an imaginary army from the planet Mars landed in New Jersey with such terrifying results that hundreds and perhaps thousands of listeners were seized with panic, and telephone calls poured into newspaper offices and police stations for amplification of the distressing news. While this tribute may be taken as a sad commentary on human intelligence and may invite comparison with famous newspaper hoaxes which were equally effective, it still remains a tribute. In and out of school the radio has beyond question become a powerful stimulus to the sense of reality, and in and out of school has in consequence made many things much more interesting.

The degree of correspondence between radio realism and actual facts is of course subject to wide variations. In so far as the spoken words and other sounds are in themselves the realities with which we seek to establish contact, the correspondence is of course complete. But whether to believe or disbelieve what we hear is obviously quite a different matter. Some broadcasts of history have included gross inaccuracies, misinterpretations, and distortions, and some of the worst examples have been furnished by broadcasts designed especially for school children. Reports of current events based upon the same sources as newspaper accounts or upon newspapers themselves can scarcely be better than newspaper accounts and have large opportunities for being worse. A critical attitude toward the factual contributions of the radio is, therefore, at least as important as a critical attitude toward factual material presented in any other way, and, in view of the possible effectiveness of the radio and the millions of listeners, may be regarded as even more important. The general principles and methods described in Chapters XV and XVI of the present volume are applicable to radio information.

Older than the radio, and for some purposes more effective, is the phonograph. Records are widely used in the teaching of music and to some extent in the teaching of foreign languages and in teaching the use of the voice in speaking. Thousands of records of high significance for teachers of history are now being filed away and will doubtless come into increasing use.

Maps, charts, and diagrams do not, like models and pictures, represent reality directly. They show, as a rule, relations rather than actual objects. When we say of a few lines on the blackboard, "That looks like France," we mean usually that the lines resemble other lines which have come to be associated with France. A photograph of France would, of course, look rather different. A diagram may be entirely arbitrary — a blue rectangle to represent a republican administration and a pink rectangle to represent a democratic administration, a dash of orange to indicate the triumph of protection and a dash of green to indicate the demand for free trade. It may, by means of lines,

present by making them think so much of the past." Nietzsche in 1874 was more specific. Animal life, as he saw it, is unhistorical. It knows neither yesterday nor to-day. There are no representations of past conditions to interfere either with its freedom or its pleasures. There is nothing to conceal. All is entirely in and of the immediate present. All is, therefore, just what it appears to be, all is honorable. Human life is restricted, bent, and twisted by the ever increasing burden of the past. Children, like animals, are happy until they begin to understand the meaning of "it was." The condition of their happiness later is to forget that anything *was*. He who cannot forget can never know what happiness is, and still worse can never do anything to make others happy. The historical and unhistorical states of mind are both essential to the welfare of an individual, a people, or a culture, but there is a kind of historical sense that impairs, and at last destroys, what is really life, whether the life of an individual, a people, or a culture. It is utterly wrong to be ungrateful to the past, blind to experience, deaf to examples, to exist as a tiny living eddy in a dead sea of night and oblivion, and yet no artist can paint his picture, no general can win his victory, no nation can attain its freedom, without lapsing for the moment into an utterly unhistorical state of mind. The historical state of mind is opposed to originality of character. It is at best for strong personalities. Under its influence weak personalities lose their plastic force and are obliterated. They suffer from it as from a disease. All of us suffer. That is, all of us who were alive in 1874 suffered. One of the great maladies of the time was *die historische Krankheit*, which, translated into English, may be called *historitis*.¹

Revolt against the past is of course a normal condition in the ranks of futurists of all persuasions. "My heart beats for Italy," an Italian apostle of futurism is reported to have said in an interview in 1910. "Our national life is strangled by the grip of the dead hand. We are not allowed to move forward according

¹ *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben*, Friedrich Nietzsche's Werke, Band 2, Leipzig, 1906. See especially pp. 108, 110, 111, 113, 132, 148, and 202. It should perhaps be noted that when Nietzsche wrote this essay, his mind was already somewhat clouded.

to the modern necessities of life because the way is blocked by the old monuments, the old statues, the crumbling old ruins, and the romantic old sentiments which encumber our people.”¹

School instruction in history may no doubt tend at times to promote absorption in and by the past to a degree that is undesirable, may tend to inspire a devotion that is excessive, may actually cultivate to some extent that “exaggerated respect for past ages” which Buckle pronounced the most harmful of all ways of distorting truth.² The general practice of the nineteenth century, at least in the earlier stages of historical instruction, was to idealize the past, especially the national past, to invest it with the glamour of a golden age, to impress the legend that “there were giants in those days.” That practice may at times have suggested comparisons very unfavorable to the present in which the children were living and may even have invited imitation of giants of old to a degree not conducive to good school discipline. But the century in passing left behind numerous counteracting tendencies. We were reminded so often “of our immense superiority over our comparatively ignorant forefathers”³ that the age appeared on the whole to be suffering not so much from “exaggerated respect for past ages” as from exaggerated respect for itself. Indeed, in the opinion of a poet of the time, the past had been consigned to oblivion:

“The old times are dead and gone and rotten;
The old thoughts shall never more be thought;
The old faiths have failed and are forgotten,
The old strifes are done, the fight is fought.”⁴

In science and technology the educated world is still conscious of an “immense superiority” even over the generation that went out in 1900 and, in its mournful acceptance of the economic depression as also without precedent and the greatest in all

¹ *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

² Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization in England*, Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1903-1904, 3 volumes, I, 96.

³ Wallace, Alfred Russell, *The Wonderful Century*, London and New York, 1898, p. 1.

⁴ Morris, Sir Lewis, quoted by Wallace, *ibid.*, p. iv.

history, finds additional reason for preoccupation with the present. Advocates of the severely functional approach are in consequence not suffering from *historitis*. Their disease, if they have one, is more likely to be acute *presentitis*, leading from a troubled world in the present to a troubled world in the past, and finding perhaps in both worlds useful propaganda for "new deals" in human affairs, but rarely creating a past that explains itself sufficiently to enlighten understanding of the present.

From 1900 to 1915 it was frequently charged by teachers in the ranks, by instructors in normal schools, and by professors of education in universities and teachers' colleges that history for American schools was being dominated by scholars unacquainted with school conditions and out of sympathy with pedagogical principles. Textbooks written by historical scholars, usually on patterns suggested by the Committees of Seven and Eight, did, it is true, raise scholarship to new levels and did, it is true, often betray a singular lack of acquaintance with school conditions and an insufficient grasp of the principle that facts, as Frank McMurry and others insisted, should "function." After 1912 discontent spread rapidly. Many teachers had already accepted the doctrine of education through and for the immediate social environment and were ready to join with educational philosophers in attacking any system which restricted freedom in applying this doctrine to history. The *Report* of the Committee on the Social Studies in 1916 expressed so well the discontent of the time and gauged so accurately the directions in which relief from "scholar domination" was being sought, that it marks a turning point in the making of programs and ranks in influence with the *Report* of the Committee of Seven. Its direct treatment of aims for history was confined to two observations:

- (1) "A primary aim of instruction in American history should be to develop a vivid conception of American nationality, a strong and intelligent patriotism, and a keen sense of the responsibility of every citizen for national efficiency. . . .
- (2) One of the conscious purposes of instruction in the history of nations other than our own should be the cultivation of a sympathetic understanding of such nations and their peoples, of an

intelligent appreciation of their contributions to civilization, and of a just attitude toward them. . . .”¹

But the Committee saw in an earlier statement by Mr. Dunn on *Standards by Which to Test the Value of Civics Instruction* “a general application to all of the social studies.” According to these standards, civics teaching is good

1. In proportion as it makes its appeal definitely and consciously to the pupil’s own present interest as a citizen.
2. In proportion as it provides the pupil with adequate motives for studying civics and for seeking opportunity to participate in the civic life of the community of which he is a member.
3. In proportion as it stimulates coöperation among the pupils, and on the part of the pupils with others, for the common interest of the community (school, home, neighborhood, city, State or Nation).
4. In proportion as it cultivates the judgment with reference to a civic situation and the methods of dealing with it; and in proportion as it cultivates initiative in the face of such situation.
5. In proportion as its subject matter is selected and organized on the basis of the pupil’s past experience, immediate interests, and the needs of his present growth.²

The whole framework set up by the Committee for the social studies was in fact an application of the spirit and point of view of community civics, the special field of the compiler of the *Report*.

In the decade after 1916 the term “objectives” took the place of the term “aims” in general usage, and American sensitiveness to the need of clear objectives became acute. To determine objectives was the first task undertaken by the Commission of the American Historical Association on the Social Studies, and, after two years of research and discussion, resulted in *A Charter for the Social Sciences*.

The *Charter* turned out to be an eloquent statement of general principles, but nowhere clearly differentiated the objectives of the social sciences from the objectives of education in general

¹ National Education Association, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education . . . Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education . . . Compiled by Arthur William Dunn . . . , Washington, 1916*, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and nowhere set up a neat table of objectives after the manner of French and German programs. Even the "supreme purpose in civic instruction — the creation of rich and many-sided personalities" (p. 93), reminiscent of Herbartian "many-sided interest," can scarcely be claimed to be peculiar to instruction in the social sciences. In identifying to a large extent the objectives of the social sciences with the objectives of education in general, the *Charter* followed a procedure found to be conventional in 1909-1910. Teachers who want specific reasons for what they teach will, in consequence, find it difficult to draw such reasons from the *Charter*. Objectives became more distinctive in "the frame of reference" set up as a separate chapter (Chapter II) in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission, but in the next chapter of this volume the desire "to bring the findings of the social sciences to bear upon the total educational undertaking" (p. 30, footnote) leads to general considerations which may leave an impression that the objectives of the social sciences are, after all, the objectives of education in general.

Broadly stated, the objectives which may be gathered from "the frame of reference" are:

1. To cultivate a scientific spirit in the treatment of subject matter.
2. To transmit the American "ideals of popular democracy and of personal liberty and dignity."
3. To prepare pupils for a change from an economy of individualism to an economy of collectivism.
4. To enlarge "understanding and mutual toleration among the diverse races, religions, and cultural groups which compose the American nation."
5. To develop an enlightened attitude toward international relations.
6. To hold up "the spirit of science and scholarship, liberty of thought and expression, freedom of press and platform, and tolerant study of the most diverse ideas, domestic and foreign, modern, medieval, and ancient, as the chief means of defense against the tyranny of bureaucracy, of narrow nationalism, and of brutal uninformed power."

The Commission on History appointed by the College Entrance Examination Board approached the field with an organizing

thesis and, guided by that thesis, arrived at the following explicit summary of objectives:

- (1) An understanding of the fundamental problems which have faced man in his social evolution.
- (2) Some knowledge of how he has dealt with these problems at different times and in different places.
- (3) An objective attitude towards all social customs, organizations, and institutions as being not ends in themselves but means to ends, and a disposition to weigh and measure them not in terms of blind loyalties but in terms of their adequacy to serve the purposes they are designed to serve.
- (4) An appreciation of the fact that no movement in human affairs can be adequately comprehended or properly appraised without reference to the impulses, near and remote, which set it in motion.
- (5) An appreciation of the fact that human society is always in motion, never static, and that the concept of unceasing change is just as essential to the understanding of any social organism as it is of any biological organism.
- (6) An appreciation of the fact that since change is of the essence of society, the social machinery must be constantly readjusted to meet the changing social needs of a constantly changing social world.
- (7) An attentive attitude, therefore, to all ideas, seriously directed towards the improvement of the social order, accompanied, however, by a critical distrust of all social medicines concocted and prescribed without adequate knowledge either of the nature of the disease or of the history of the patient.
- (8) An appreciation of the fact that different conditions of living and different standards of value produce different ways of dealing with fundamental social problems; an acceptance of diversities of culture as in the nature of things and not in themselves undesirable; and a capacity not only to approach objectively but to participate understandingly in the ways of thought and the ways of action of cultures different from our own.
- (9) A sense of social responsibility which involves not only intelligent participation in the operation of the social machine as it is, but also intelligent coöperation in the making of such alterations in the social machine as shall keep it in close adjustment to changing social needs.

Finally (10) the Commission believes that history, properly taught, should develop certain definite attitudes in dealing with social material of all sorts. It should offer a particularly favorable opportunity to train students:

- (a) How and where to get information.
- (b) How to weigh evidence and discount prejudice.
- (c) How to reach logical conclusions.
- (d) How to select, arrange and present social data as preliminary to the formation of a sound opinion about any social pattern, past or present.¹

Individual contributions of the last twenty-five years have, with increasing frequency, emphasized citizenship as the distinctive aim of the social studies. This was the aim chiefly emphasized in the early teaching of history in the United States, and in the teaching of government this has always been the determining aim. It is an aim the importance of which, under our American system, can scarcely be overestimated, and the social studies may properly claim a dominating place in its promotion. But the ideals of education for citizenship have become so inclusive that all general education may be regarded as education for citizenship. When, therefore, we analyze citizenship, we find, not *an* aim, but the old multiplicity of aims.

Every school study should, of course, be brought to bear upon "the total educational undertaking," and no study should be discounted because its relation to "the total educational undertaking" appears to be about the same as that of some other studies. But to qualify for a place in the school curriculum, it will probably be agreed that a study, besides being good for almost everything, should be particularly good for something in particular, should supply something of educational significance not supplied by other studies, or supplied less effectively by other studies. Every study has presumably something of educational significance peculiar to itself to offer, something unique either in kind or degree. If this is true, it appears reasonable to assume that what is of unique educational significance in a study should determine its controlling objectives, and that other objectives incidental thereto should be treated as incidental. It does not follow that what is found to be unique is necessarily important. A clear distinction between controlling objectives and other

¹ College Entrance Examination Board, Commission on History, "Report of the Commission," *The Social Studies*, December, 1936, Volume XXVII, pp. 549-550.

objectives, by enabling us to assign to a study a distinctive individual role, may, indeed, lead to the conclusion that a study is not worth teaching at all. Whether the educational significance of a study as seen from within the study itself is important or unimportant must be determined by the extent to which its distinctive contribution can be shown to be actually needed in meeting fundamental life situations.

In the case of history there are two things that stand out as unique: (1) the historical method of arriving at facts; (2) the historical idea of development. Are these important?

That the historical method of arriving at facts is important becomes clear as soon as we realize that it is the method by which we arrive at all of our facts about external things beyond the range of our direct observation and consider the relative mass of such facts in our total equipment of knowledge. It is, of course, a method which everybody uses every day, and very often most of the day. But it comes to us so naturally and so inevitably with the first occasion for its operation that we may use it for a lifetime without any consciousness of a method. The rules and principles which have been established for guidance in its use may to some extent be unconsciously followed through "a natural sense of evidence." But "a natural sense of evidence" appears to be rare in human beings. Most of us are born with bumps of credulity so large that only years of persistent treatment can reduce them to reasonable size. Skepticism is, it is true, as common as credulity. There is the familiar skepticism due to sheer ignorance. There is the familiar skepticism induced by credulity itself hardening into prejudice. Mr. Dooley spoke for a large fraction of mankind and for many conditions besides those supplied by newspapers when he said: "I take all th' pa-apers an read them fr'm end to end. I don't believe a bad thing they print about anny iv me frinds but I believe ivirything about anny body else."¹ Skepticism may indicate a sense of evidence; it may also indicate mere imperviousness to evidence.

To give pupils some notion of the nature of historical evidence has long been recognized as an *incidental* aim in historical instruc-

¹ Salmon, Lucy M., *The Newspaper and the Historian*, New York, 1923, p. 138.

tion and in some arguments for the use of primary sources has even been elevated to the rank of a *controlling* aim. But the fundamental character of the historical method and its wide application appear rarely to have registered in the consciousness of pupils in school and in most people outside of school have remained below the level of consciousness. A study of history that leaves the pupil unconscious of the historical method can scarcely be called a *study* of history at all. What the pupil learns is a series of answers to problems with hints, here and there, that some of the answers are in dispute. History for schools has for more than three hundred years consisted almost exclusively of such answers, and the impression has been almost universal that to go behind the answers is neither desirable nor within the abilities or inclinations of pupils. To suggest training in the historical method as a *controlling* aim in history for schools is certainly a departure from long-established tradition. It may or may not be a desirable departure, but that is a matter scarcely to be determined by those who are themselves untrained in the method and have never seen it tested in school.

Is the historical idea of development important? Scholars and educators have alike so generally answered in the affirmative that only the degree to which the idea has been or should be applied in school programs and textbooks furnishes occasion for serious controversy. Between the lycée program in France with its ideal of tracing "the principal transformations of humanity" in sequences that establish complete historical continuity and American programs based upon the functional approach, there is a considerable gulf. Within the special topics selected for the latter, there may be an appearance of applying the idea of development, but topics determined by what matters now, and treated throughout with specific reference to what matters now, may easily miss what mattered most in the past and thus miss the essential factors in actual development. The topics may, moreover, be so unrelated to each other that all sense of general historical continuity is lost, and continuity itself has often been specifically repudiated in American educational discussion. American textbooks in history have taken the idea of develop-

ment more seriously and have often so applied it as to be accused of presenting "history for the sake of history," a compliment which few of them have ever deserved.

Most textbook writers aim to meet the reigning educational demands, whatever those demands may be. Witness the number of textbooks that have adopted the unit plan of organization. But to advocates of the functional approach, it is a standing grievance that textbooks which achieve for history organic unity are packed with facts that have no relation to the present, a defect from which, it is assumed, functional textbooks are free. How restrictive their standards may sometimes be was illustrated by the principal of a conspicuous "modern" school, when, at a gathering of patrons of the school, he asked his chief teacher of history: "Would you teach any facts not directly related to the present?" With some hesitation the teacher replied that he would. "Not in this school," snapped the principal, allowing no opportunity for the teacher to explain his answer. Acute *presentitis* may vision the possibility of teaching only facts *in themselves* directly related to the present, but any attempt to exhibit past conditions or events is likely to introduce some facts whose sole excuse for being is that they are a part of the exhibit. Functional programs and functional textbooks may confine attention to topics suggested by the immediate present, but the history that figures within those topics may be as remote from present problems as programs and textbooks which are stigmatized as "old-fashioned." In that widely used, not to say abused, topic, transportation, for example, just what has transportation in ancient China or ancient Egypt or ancient Greece to do with transportation in the United States today? Stages in the development of transportation are of course important from the point of view of development, but, to the extent that the functional approach applies the idea of development, it is on the same ground as "old-fashioned" history. Some facts, that is, are selected not because of their direct relation to the present but because of their direct relation to the idea of development. Many of those who are now casting stones at facts not in themselves directly related to the present would find, if they took the trouble to

look, a considerable display of glass in the facing of their own houses.

History that traces development inevitably includes facts not directly related to the present. Its fundamental question is not what matters *now* but what mattered *then*. Its primary mission is to exhibit life as it *was* and to show what the things *were* that shaped *past* living. Even scientific history, however, reflects the tastes, interests, and problems of the present in which it is written, and, as organized for schools, is as deeply concerned with the present as the functional approach. In much of actual content it is in fact so largely shaped by the present that, like the history shaped by the functional approach, it is constantly going out of date. There is, it is true, an underlying assumption that if history is to contribute toward an understanding of the present, it must also contribute toward an understanding of the past, and it is on the issue of the extent to which it is necessary to make the past intelligible that conflict arises with the functional approach. In tracing development, textbooks written by scholars aim at organic continuity; the functional approach limits development to special phases directly suggested by the present and treats them separately, assuming for each a self-sufficiency that renders unnecessary any general exploration of the past. Both accept the idea of development as important, and the *ultimate* purpose of the one is the same as the *immediate* purpose of the other. That purpose, briefly stated, is to enlighten understanding of the present and stimulate intelligent moral action.

History has been classed as a social science distinguishable from other social sciences and is of course differentiated from the natural sciences and from poetry, fiction, and other special forms of literature. But all subjects of study are themselves forms of development and as such to be explained in part by their history. So generally is this recognized that specialists in every department of the vast domain of human knowledge now view their fields historically, natural scientists perhaps most of all, for natural scientists habitually build upon the work of their predecessors and, unlike educational reformers, rarely begin at the beginning as if nothing had ever been begun before. History has

itself a history which helps to explain present conceptions of history.

As a social science differentiated from other social sciences, it is the special province of history to trace social development, showing by concrete examples of successive societies in action what society has been, how society has "worked," what the causes and consequences of social action have been, and how society as it *is* grew out of society as it *was*.

Reasoning about the present from facts relating to the past is a process familiar to every reasoning being and, as usually carried on, implies some idea of development. The "facts" may not be true, the reasoning may be fantastic, the development implied may be impossible. The results are in any case factors in shaping much of our attitude toward life and much of our conduct. The functional approach to history may be regarded as a conscious extension of such reasoning, and large claims are advanced for its effectiveness in making current social problems interesting to children and in training children to think intelligently even about problems which many of their educated elders face without much intelligence. The functional approach may, however, like the "old-fashioned" history, involve little more than memorizing. School instruction in history which embodies Hitler's or Mussolini's dreams and ambitions is highly functional, but as training consists of learning, reciting, and believing a creed. School instruction in history which follows what "the textbook says" in the United States, whether the textbook is called "history" or "social studies" or something else, may be highly functional and yet offer no more training than the German or Italian program. An American textbook may, it is true, be critical in ways not permitted in Germany or Italy, and reciting its critical views may be said to make children critical. But the training that children thus receive is still acceptance of a creed. No criticism of faith in a creed is here intended. Faith may be far more important than knowledge. But history professes to be a body of knowledge and is presumably to be treated as a body of knowledge.

History as a creed may be defended on the ground that his-

torical "objectivity" always has been, and always will be, a sham, or, in the more polite language of philosophy, an "illusion"; that it was a wise man who first declared history a collection of fables which men had agreed to believe; and that any conception of the past may be called "history," if it is useful. In the results achieved by historical scholarship, there are nonetheless some probabilities more probable than others, and to place them all on the same level of uncertainty with an approach to believing nothing is no more intelligent than to place them all on the same level of certainty with an approach to believing everything.

In the United States so much emphasis is now being placed upon the need of cultivating in school a critical attitude toward facts, so much is being said about training in the use of evidence, so much is being urged in the analysis of propaganda, and so much of all this involves the nature of "historical trueness," that some training in the historical method is already implied. It remains to make the training conscious and systematic. Much emphasis is also being placed upon the idea of development and is summed up in the slogan, "Education for a changing world." This slogan, while born of the World War and, in spite of numerous precedents, regarded as a new discovery, is quite in line with the historical idea of development and is sufficient evidence that the idea of development is already a force in shaping American education. That the only study which can make clear the idea of development should be charged with conscious responsibility for making the idea clear would, therefore, appear to be an obvious conclusion.

Development is of course only a larger name for change, and the idea of change is so constantly borne in upon us through the most familiar experiences of life that it may seem quite unnecessary to refer to history for illustration. Yet change is often dimly perceived even by those who have studied some history. There are still American educators who regard "a changing world" as a new discovery. There are serious American statesmen who measure the United States of today by the standards of 1789. History itself, as conceived by many of the older historians encouraged such views. The older historians were conscious of

change, but many of them regarded change as recurring change. It was on the assumption that human affairs followed, in cycles or circles, tracks which had been followed before that history was believed to have practical value for life. There are still those who believe that history repeats itself, or at least that the general aim of school instruction should be to make history repeat itself. In development, as traced by modern historians, there are many enduring things; many ideas are consciously handed on from generation to generation; many ideas held by one generation and forgotten by the next are revived by later generations; the fundamental passions of the human heart, as Vives pointed out in 1531, remain substantially the same. Yet the total impression left by development is that each generation has its own adventures "brave and new" to a degree that renders the idea of history repeating itself no longer tenable. It is here that the idea of progress comes into view. Only history can measure progress. Only history can test the claims of "progressives" to progress in education, in politics, in religion, or in any other field. History has thus far neither proved nor disproved any thesis relating to progress as a general tendency in the development of humanity. It may some day, through continuing analysis of progress, arrive at laws of progress under which it will be possible to take society in hand consciously and consciously shape its course so effectively as to make progress a general and enduring tendency. That may in time come to be regarded as the ultimate and most valuable result of historical instruction.¹

History, even as it is, can make the social world of today intelligible in a way unthinkable apart from history and of universal application to current social problems. This is so generally recognized in school instruction that no supporting argument is needed. The application most commonly made consists, however, of comparing present conditions with similar conditions in the past, a procedure that may quite fail to impress the idea of development and thus miss the explanation of present conditions which that idea can convey. Resemblances between the present and the past are important. Without them there would be no

¹ Cf. Robinson, J. H., *The New History*, New York, 1912, pp. 251-252.

basis for grasping the past at all. But differences are equally fundamental. Without them there could be no history. Differences suggest change, and change is the soul of history.

But if a critical attitude toward facts is desirable, a critical attitude toward the idea of development is equally desirable. Development as traced by historians is only reasoning from selected facts. It cannot be much better than its facts and may be worse. It is itself only a "fact" established by the historical method and as such subject to variations in its degree of probability. Applied in different ways in different countries, the idea of development wears in each country the aspect of that country's ideology. It is one thing in Hitlerized world history, another thing in Mussoliniized world history, and still another thing in Americanized world history. There is no common ground of "historical trueness" from which to view either the facts or their combination in the idea of development. Divergences, widened since the World War of 1914-1918 to a degree perhaps never before witnessed, have intensified the bitterness of world woes. So long as such divergences persist, school instruction in history will continue to be among the forces that engender racial, religious, and international prejudices, suspicions, jealousies, and hatreds. Conditions are now so bad that they may easily grow worse. But the worst of times may be the best of times to think of palliatives. What can history do? Was there ever a time that called so clearly upon historical instruction for training in historical trueness, training, that is, in the historical method of establishing facts and training in the historical idea of development? In much of the world today such training is of course impossible. Even in the United States various state legislatures, city councils, boards of education, and other official agencies, driven by pressure groups, have sought to impede our freedom to think intelligently about history. But the area of safety for the exercise of American intelligence is still sufficient to admit at least of exploratory experimentation. Far from any present practice as the full implications of historical trueness now undoubtedly are, they may in some happier time of their own making take a form possible even now to dream about — the

enduring things in the long story of human development told without provincial prejudice, embracing all lands and all peoples, leading to, but not led by, the fleeting present, world history one and essentially the same for all the schools in the world and studied by all the children in the world.

The demands made upon historical instruction by training in the historical method of establishing facts and training in the historical idea of development as controlling aims may seem slight in comparison with those imposing lists of aims which embrace about everything that education is supposed to be good for. In reality, they are demands which test the resources of history and the resources of pupils to the utmost. In reality they are demands which condition other demands that go beyond mere entertainment and the inculcation of a narrow patriotism, demands that must be met in any serious attempt to make the present social world intelligible. It may be objected that they are demands which appeal too much to the intellect of childhood and youth and too little to the emotions. But that is to read the historical process abstractly. Concrete examples of successive societies in action will still abound in emotional appeals. Man will be seen at his lowest and worst, as he already is seen in any serious study of history. The reaction to that, if healthy, may, as the eighteenth century so firmly believed, be intense hatred of the lowest and worst and a stimulus to conduct more becoming to the dignity of human nature. Man will also be seen at his best and highest. There will still be examples of heroism, of patience under suffering, of loving service, of eloquence moving men to better things, of passionate pursuit of the good, the beautiful, and the true, moments which, if properly presented, will make children at any stage of school instruction feel that they are standing on holy ground. Experience has shown that emotional appeals of any kind, instead of being minified, are greatly enhanced by a sense of historical trueness.

It may be objected that there are positive dangers in seeking to make the social world really intelligible to children. The habit of judging different ages by standards peculiar to those ages may dull the sense of present moral values. It may lead to

a toleration of customs which ought not in the light of our day be tolerated. It may chill that pride of country which in the name of patriotism so deeply concerns historical instruction, and leave the pupil with a general feeling that it is the most stupid thing in the world to pronounce one custom or institution or country either better or worse than another. The idea of ceaseless change may create an impression that whatever is in state, church, school, family, or occupation is temporary, that what is valuable today may not be valuable tomorrow, and that there are no permanent values.

Some of these possibilities are not so bad as they may appear, unless truth itself is bad, and the idea of social progress carries its own antidote for others. It may be desirable, for example, that pride of country should, now and then, be a bit chilled. When a textbook writer gravely announces that his purpose is to make children see why Americans are "the bravest men and the most successful of inventors, explorers, authors, and scientists," there is need of a slightly lower temperature. Doubtless some pride of country is desirable, and there is no country that does not inspire it. Foreigners used to think that our country inspired it to an undue degree. De Tocqueville, observing conditions in the eighteen thirties, found that for fifty years there had been impressed upon the Americans the idea that they were "the only religious, enlightened, free people." "They have," he wrote, "an immense opinion of themselves and are not far from believing that they form a species apart from the human race." Another Frenchman thought that it must be a standing source of irritation to Americans "not to able to pretend that an American discovered America." Bryce in the eighties found the old self-assertion only "faintly noticeable" and felt the change as a compliment to Americans.¹ Later the "muck-raker" made us perhaps too conscious of our faults, and in the present depression we are perhaps less proud of our country than we ought to be. But in no attempt at true characterization of its achievements, hopes, and ideals can the American past leave us cold, nor the present grow-

¹ See Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1902, III, 82-83.

ing out of that past, in spite of all doubts and misgivings, fail to offer stronger reason for self-congratulation than even the great days of Andrew Jackson. As for the standards of other ages and other countries, he is a poor patriot, whatever his training or lack of training in history or whatever his flag, who cannot to some extent sympathize with Max O'Rell's Englishman, when, on returning from France, he thanks God that he was born an Englishman, or with his Frenchman when, on returning from England, he exclaims, "How proud a man is to call himself a Frenchman after he has looked at England!"

With our present view of history the facts selected to make our social world intelligible will naturally be those most immediately related to our own special interests, problems, and standards of judgment. We must and do consider the influence of other countries upon our destiny and our relations to them. Much stress has in recent years been laid upon our European background. Much stress has also been laid upon a sympathetic understanding of present-day peoples in foreign climes, including even India, China, and Japan. We thus create difficulties greater than many of us seem to appreciate. When, for example, a condition in ancient Greece is approached because it seems to throw light on a present condition in the United States, we are at once confronted by the necessity of understanding the Greeks to understand the condition in Greece. Nor is this all. To understand the condition in Greece we must perhaps understand conditions outside of Greece. It was once a fashion to begin a history of one's own time with an account of the creation of the world, and there is still something to be said in favor of the principle. If we really mean what we say about using the past to explain the present, if we really mean what we say about understanding other peoples, the means provided by our present programs, especially our social studies programs, are, to speak mildly, absurdly inadequate and more likely to encourage harmful pretensions than any real understanding of other peoples either past or present. Even granting that history for American children should be what is of immediate concern to American children, immediacy, to be intelligible, demands something more than the scanty and utterly disjointed

allusions to the past which now often figure in school programs as history.

Whatever the aim or aims set up for historical instruction, the teacher must, most of the time, press onward consciously and definitely toward the goal. But the pursuit even of a great purpose should not be conceived in a narrow spirit. There ought still to be byways in which it is safe, now and then, to forget the everlasting pedagogical formula, "Turn everything to use," leisure to wander in quiet places with no companion except intellectual curiosity, leisure to commune with the past with no excuse except that it is interesting, leisure to linger over glories that have passed simply because they are glorious; or, if faith in utility must go all the way, rising to the faith of Browning's Grammarians:

"Earn the means first — God surely will contrive
Use for our earning.
Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes !'
Live now or never !
He said, 'What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes !
Man has Forever !'"

At the worst, a little superfluous knowledge is not a dangerous thing, and even if it were, the wisest of educators is unable to draw sharply the line between what is superfluous and what is not. There is danger, in this age of passion for immediate practical results, of forgetting that larger future which, in spite of utilitarian educational philosophers, is ever being shaped in the Grammarians' spirit.

"Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain."

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY

THE field with which the teacher of history has to deal offers as units of instruction individual human beings and groups of human beings. Facts relating to the former make up the special subject matter of biography. Facts relating to the latter make up the subject matter of history proper. School instruction in history may begin with either, but group units are, in most cases, regarded as at least the ultimate goal. Pupils, that is, are at some stage expected to study Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, the American people, and individual Athenians, Romans, Churchmen, or Americans, only as these appear to be needed for the illustration or explanation of Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, or the American people. A choice between individuals as units and social groups as units is, therefore, ordinarily presented only in the earlier stages of instruction. The usual view has been that history for children should begin with individuals as individuals, but that the subjects should be so selected and so treated as to prepare for a study, later in the course, of social groups. This mode of procedure may be described as the biographical approach to history.

The use of biography for beginners appears to have been first suggested by Rousseau. Biography itself as an independent form of literature was then comparatively new. "Lives" had, of course, been produced, both by antiquity and by the Middle Ages. Indeed, the earliest appearance of the word "biography" in the English language seems to have been Dryden's use of it in 1683 to describe the famous *Parallel Lives* by Plutarch. Both the original of the word and its application to "lives" must be credited to the Greeks. But most of these earlier "lives" lacked the true biographical motive. They were either accounts of the "times" written after the manner of histories in general, or, if

more personal, were designed to celebrate moral qualities, to impress solemn warnings, to defend or defame a character, to win support or to inspire opposition to a doctrine or policy, rather than faithfully to portray the life of a man. It was not until Dryden's own century that any considerable part of the literary world began to demand from writers of "lives" primarily a truthful record of lives and to recognize clearly a distinction between biography and history.

Rousseau proposed a truthful record for *Emile*. He would have men exhibited as they really were. That was his one reason for resorting to biography. *Emile* was to begin his "study of the human heart" with the reading of "individual lives," because in them men are more fully revealed than in narratives of broader scope. In them "it is in vain for the man to conceal himself, for the historian pursues him everywhere; he leaves him no moment of respite, no corner where he may avoid the piercing eyes of a spectator."¹ The study of the past was, however, to begin for *Emile* at the relatively mature age of eighteen. It was, then, a study apparently beyond the usual bounds even of a secondary school course. Could biography be adapted to lower stages of instruction? Was it desirable for lower stages of instruction?

The questions were raised by Basedow and other early supporters of Rousseau, but nearly fifty years passed before educators began to return definitely favorable answers in the form of actual programs. In the process the fundamental postulates of Rousseau, that men should be exhibited as they really were, and that "individual lives" are to be preferred to more general narratives because of their fuller revelations of men, were all but forgotten. There was a distinct tendency to revert to older conceptions of biography, to regard "lives" as vehicles for conveying lessons in morals and patriotism, to seek illustrations, not of life, but of ideals of living. There was another modification. Rousseau, while demanding sober facts, placed no emphasis upon the study of individuals as a preparation for the study of social groups. Later advocates of the biographical plan, with less regard for

¹ Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *Emile*, Payne's translation, Appleton, New York, 1893, pp. 215-216.

"lives" as truthful portraiture, had much to say of biography as a bridge to history, and some of them eventually reached the conclusion that history of any kind desirable for school can and ought to be reduced to biography.

The introductory biographical survey began to appear with some degree of frequency in German programs soon after 1820, and in the course of the next thirty or forty years gradually established itself in the world at large as the usual approach to history. There was some competition with approaches through the home and the community and with approaches through myths and sagas. Advocates of the culture epoch theory naturally preferred myths and sagas. But even in culture epoch programs, biography was, in some cases, combined with myths and sagas.

In its completed form the argument for biography ran about as follows:

- (1) The individual person is a simpler subject to study than the tribe, city, or nation to which he belongs.
- (2) Children have a natural and healthy interest in persons; they live and suffer with their heroes and thus enlarge their own experience in a manner scarcely to be thought of in dealing with social groups.
- (3) Acquaintance with the great and noble characters of the past creates a desire to be like them and makes the evil deeds of evil men abhorrent.
- (4) Individuals can be made to represent social groups, so that a study of the characteristics and experiences of individuals is in effect a study of the characteristics and experiences of social groups themselves.

The need of careful selection was emphasized. Because the individual was a simpler unit for study than the social group, it did not follow that the individual person was himself necessarily either simple or interesting, or if both simple and interesting, that he was either a desirable example to place before children or a fair representative of his social group. To this there were, however, important exceptions. Each country naturally included its own leaders and heroes. Most countries included also at least some characters of world fame or world infamy. These were in a meas-

ure privileged subjects to be admitted with or without reference to any fixed conviction as to the kind of person most readily adapted to the intelligence of children. In the selection of other subjects the standards most generally in evidence were those supplied by the doctrine of natural tastes and interests, or by the culture-epoch theory. For children up to the age of ten or eleven there was, in consequence, a liberal representation of persons of primitive instincts — cavemen, Indians, and the like — and of persons of various instincts who “did things,” especially brigands, pirates, adventurers, explorers, pioneers, generals, and kings. Artists, inventors, builders, captains of industry, and other “doers” of the less adventurous sort were to some extent recognized, and there were occasional references to writers, preachers, philanthropists, philosophers, teachers, and even professional scholars. In the main, the demand was for “plenty of action,” and this usually implied action that savored somewhat of the spectacular. Subjects and treatment frequently transcended the limits of strict biography. Fictitious events were associated with real persons, real events were associated with fictitious persons, events and persons might be alike fictitious. The essential condition was the use of stories told in biographical form. It was, then, quite possible to construct characters that moved exclusively in realms peopled by the supposed interests of children. The characters might themselves be children and might easily be assigned rôles in which they played their full parts without “the ignominy of growing up” and thus growing out of their proper sphere. For children beyond the age of eleven or twelve, both subjects and treatment were, as a rule, more strictly biographical. But action was still the ruling principle.

The length of the introductory biographical survey varied greatly. In France it was completed at the end of the third year. In England it was often carried to the end of the seventh year, and sometimes to the end of the eighth year. In the United States many programs carried it to the end of the sixth year. Both in Europe and in America there were occasional demands that it should be carried even into secondary instruction.

National leaders and heroes and the somewhat mixed company

of other characters associated with them in the school curriculum were, perhaps, less generally intelligible and less generally interesting than was commonly supposed. Often they were presented so abstractly that children could find little with which to live and suffer except vague adjectives and broad generalizations. Had the presentation in all cases been concrete, had the characters in all cases been made to stand out as real persons, it is more than probable that many a program would have undergone somewhat radical revision. Those tales of fighting, killing, and other forms of physical violence, that occasionally shocked the sensibilities of children, might, had they been fully realized, have shocked them still more, and some other tales would have been found to convey very doubtful ethical lessons.

For moral and patriotic purposes the chief stress was naturally laid upon "highly endowed" and "nobly striving" men. The general principle was that "if we walk with those who are lame, we learn to limp" and "if we associate with princes, we catch their manners." "I fill my mind," said Plutarch, "with the sublime images of the best and greatest men." To fill the minds of children with images of the same kind, and to make these images factors in the adjustment and regulation of everyday conduct, was commonly regarded as the supreme aim of biography in school.

Such ideals many of the lives actually presented to children tended no doubt to promote. Even stories of fighting and killing could no doubt be so manipulated as to teach important lessons in courage, endurance, and love of home and country. From consequences of a different kind most children were, perhaps, delivered by the limitations of their own intelligence. They did not make the logical application. What they carried away very often was only a vague impression that certain characters of the past were in some obscure way either hopelessly good or hopelessly bad, rather stupid, and on the whole not sufficiently interesting to be imitated. This was in some cases fortunate. There were examples placed before children which, if really understood and really taken to heart, would almost certainly have impaired the discipline of the schoolroom. A pupil undertaking to live up to them would almost certainly have been dismissed from school and

might in time have found his way to jail through that lack of harmony with his social environment which brought some hero of his to the same end. "Lives of great men" often "remind us" that the way to "make our lives sublime" is to defy established conventions. If relatively few children learned that lesson in school and applied it in undesirable ways, the fault was not in the examples. A few did learn it and early began to recognize that the situation was saved for others by misinterpretation. Even apparently unimpeachable examples of strictly conventional virtues were not always entirely safe. The story of George Washington and his hatchet, for example, had been known to produce somewhat melancholy results. It had actually inspired the desire to commit some act of depredation for the sake of an opportunity to tell the truth like George Washington, and like him to be rewarded. Many a child had tried the experiment and had met with a treatment so different from that which George Washington received as to lead him to question very seriously whether honesty is, after all, the best policy.¹

The representative character of the lives presented in school has almost invariably been linked with the "great-man theory" of history. The general idea is expressed in the well-known dictum of Carlyle that "the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."² It is more neatly expressed in the dictum of Cousin that "great men sum up and represent humanity."³ The relation here implied may be either the relation of a great man to his own times or the relation of a great man to posterity. Biography when distinctly urged as a bridge to history commonly emphasizes the former. The idea is so to present individual characters as to typify the age in which they lived.

An issue is thus raised which has long invited controversy. Greatness is usually associated with fame. Yet greatness, as

¹ This statement is based upon the testimony of several hundred teachers. The author has himself rather mournful recollections of what happened in his own case when as a boy of eight he put the story to this kind of test.

² Carlyle, Thomas, *Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, Centenary edition of *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, Chapman and Hall, London, n. d., 30 Volumes, V, 1.

³ Quoted by Bourdeau, Louis, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, Paris, 1888, p. 17.

defined by moralists, may utterly fail to achieve fame, and fame may be quite unrelated to moral or even to intellectual greatness. What determines fame? The whims of fortune rather than any careful weighing of worth, according to Sallust; the place in which an act happened to be performed, according to Cato; the talent of the writer who happened to record it, according to Vopiscus.¹ Often fame has come to men, not because they embodied the characteristics of their own generation, but because they did not embody them, not because they were representative men, but because they were unrepresentative men. Often fame has been denied by contemporaries and has been bestowed by posterity. As for the famous who were also great, the very act of describing them sets them apart as exceptional. They tower above the rank and file of humanity as mountains tower above the plains of the earth. "What would you think," asks Bourdeau, "of a geographer who for a complete description of the earth should content himself with a mention of the highest summits?"²

The biographical approach in school usually skipped from summit to summit without any reference to the connecting landscape. Even when the characters selected were in general significant from the point of view of history, the stories had as a rule little or no connection. Usually there was not even a pretense of combining the materials into a connected story. In the plan of the Committee of Eight, for example, and this is fairly typical of biographical plans in general, children in the first grade catch glimpses of Miles Standish, of Samoset and Squanto, and of George Washington. In the second grade they have a little more of George Washington, something of Richard Henry Lee, and "selected stories of Civil War heroes." In the third grade they meet heroes of other times: Joseph, Moses, David, Ulysses, Alexander, Cincinnatus, Horatius, William Tell, Roland, Canute, Alfred, Robert Bruce, Joan of Arc, Harroun, and Columbus. In the fourth grade they are introduced in a somewhat more regular way to American explorers and colonists, but even here they take the leap from La Salle to Washington and Franklin. In the fifth grade they have

¹ Quoted by Bourdeau, Louis, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, Paris, 1888, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

selected biographical stories from American history beginning with Patrick Henry and ending with Lincoln and Robert E. Lee, but again there is little to suggest a continuous story. Such an arrangement leaves much to be desired if biography is to be used as a real preparation for history.

Since 1915 the biographical approach has lost its place as the usual approach to history for beginners. The idea was from the first brought into competition with the older idea of beginning with the home and the community, and the older idea appears now again to be in the ascendant. In the United States the program for beginners has been growing more and more sociological. Many units of fundamental social significance and easy to bring within the experience of children have been worked out with high success. But in the upper grades and in the high school, wherever collateral reading has included more than textbooks, biography has continued to hold an important place. There have at times been writings which conveyed a different impression. Under the headline, "Possibilities of Biography in the Teaching of History," *The Christian Science Monitor* of February 11, 1926, contained an article of about a column and a half in length, signed H. E. W. The writer had apparently just discovered biography and was telling others about it. He or she complained that too few teachers were using biographical material in their classes and found two reasons for this condition. In the first place, Americans had not been writing "widely in the biographical field until comparatively recently." In the second place, "the old type of biographies which were written were ponderous compendiums of fact, not of sufficient interest to keep many students awake." The appearance of better material had, however, shown that "where a few teachers have tried the use of biographical work, they have found it of distinct vitalizing value." The writer went on to say that biography throws light on the general character of a time as well as on the individual described, and said it as if it had never been said before. But more than a few teachers in 1926 were better informed than H. E. W. Both then and since 1926, biography has figured extensively in reading lists for schools and in the assignment of special topics for reports in class.

Outside of school, biography has been of continuous interest ever since the fifteenth century. One of the greatest collections of all time, the *Acta Sanctorum*, was begun in the seventeenth century and is still in progress, with 67 volumes now completed. In 1696 the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of Pierre Bayle appeared, and in 1734 was translated into English. It was a dictionary of biography and a forerunner of the great dictionaries which have since appeared. Among the latter may be noted the Swedish dictionary in 23 volumes, published 1835–1857; the Dutch in 24 volumes, published 1852–1878; the Austrian in 35 volumes, published 1856–1891; the German in 45 volumes, published 1875–1900; the English in 63 volumes, published 1885–1900, and later extended by the publication of supplementary volumes; and the American in 20 volumes, published 1928–1936. Many collections have appeared in series devoted to such special subjects as explorers, military leaders, statesmen, poets, inventors, etc. Individual biographies are now receiving fresh accessions every week.

Interest in biography has been greatly increased by the “new school of biography,” represented by such writers as Strachey, Maurois, Ludwig, and Gamaliel Bradford. The general methods of this “school” are those of psychoanalysis rather than of research. External facts established by standard biographies are used as clues to the inner workings of the mind, including the subconscious. Such works often partake so largely of the nature of fiction that their classification as biography may be open to some suspicion. But their appeal to the general reader is undeniable.

A still wider appeal has been made by the treatment of biography on the stage and on the screen. Biography has for centuries been prominent among the themes of the theater and has in recent years been extensively exploited with profit both to art and to the box office. Of this something will be said in a later chapter.

With biography may properly be included the whole vast field of such materials for biography as autobiographies, diaries, journals, memoirs, personal reminiscences, and letters. Many a

reader has found this field so intriguing that, so far as history is concerned, he has resolved never to read anything else. Within the field are works which in their time reached the rank of best sellers, but the field as a whole seems to have received from the general public far less attention than the organized biography for which it has furnished the materials.¹

In view of the wide appeal of biography, the richness of the literature, and the special problems in historical criticism which it raises, it may seem strange that separate courses in biography have not won general recognition in colleges and universities. Such a course appeared early in the century among the offerings of the University of Berlin. It was called *Grosse Männer*. Types of great men, varying from year to year, were studied. When the present author took the course, the great men were the great painters from Masaccio down to the nineteenth century. Carleton College at Northfield, Minnesota, for a time offered a course in biography. More such courses would be likely to prove useful to teachers in any field of the social sciences.

Separate courses have at various times been tried in high schools. The Horace Mann School of Teachers College, New York, for example, had for a time a course for girls dealing with the great women of modern times. While conditions since 1920 have discouraged such experiments, interest in the incidental use of biography has not abated, and there are still those who regard the biographical approach as the most suitable approach for beginners.

As a preparation for history, the biographical approach for beginners can be made more historical than it usually appeared to be in the old programs. The work may begin in the community. Local history has been widely cultivated and much of it is largely biographical. In almost any community, materials are available for "stories about people who have lived here," and a succession of community leaders can easily be so arranged and so treated as to make a connected story. The materials must of course be gathered by the teacher, but this may involve no great labor, and

¹ The American field is entertainingly sampled in *An Autobiography of America*, edited by Mark Van Doren, New York, 1929, ix, 737 pp.

every teacher should in any event have some such knowledge of the community which he or she may be serving. "Stories about people who have lived here" will often invite coöperation from the homes of the children, sometimes to an embarrassing degree. The principle can be extended to people who have lived in our state, in the United States, and even to people who have lived in the world. Characters can easily be grouped in sequences in which special virtues or occupations or achievements will serve as connecting threads — a sequence, for example, of boys who became rich, a sequence of girls who became writers of books for children, a sequence of explorers or inventors or "captains of industry." Biographically the aim should be to get acquainted in a personal way with the characters as human beings. The famous Weems had the idea when in his *Life of Washington*, he wrote: "In most of the elegant orations to his praise, you see nothing of Washington below the clouds — nothing of Washington the dutiful son — the affectionate brother — the cheerful school-boy — the diligent surveyor — the neat draftsman — the laborious farmer — the widow's husband — the orphan's father — the poor man's friend."¹ Children should get acquainted with people "below the clouds." Great events difficult to follow can be entirely ignored and still leave a story connected enough to convey at least some slight impression of development and continuity.

For older pupils with textbooks that make the connected story, getting acquainted in a personal way with the characters that figure in the textbooks may be regarded as the fundamental aim of biography. Textbooks have in general abandoned the principle of grouping events about men and have adopted the principle of grouping men about events. The old theory that events could be grouped about men never achieved real success. It used to be said, for example, and it was said many times, that pupils could learn from the life of George Washington all that they needed to know about the American Revolution. But this imposed restrictions upon the treatment both of Washington and of the Revolution. So much in no way related to Washington had to

¹ Edition of 1918, p. 11.

be told to represent the Revolution and so much in no way related to the Revolution had to be told to represent Washington that the result was usually a forced grouping which left Washington and the Revolution alike somewhat obscure. Edwin Erle Sparks, in *The Men Who Made the Nation*, applied the theory as effectively perhaps as it can be applied, but even his work fell short of proving his thesis "that at any given period of affairs one man will be found who is master of the situation, and events naturally group themselves about him."¹

Biography can, on the whole, be made more historical by making it more biographical, by grouping men about events rather than events about men, and by studying men first of all as men. Take the American Revolution. Surely not even George Washington himself is a sufficiently embracing center for making this movement intelligible. Nor is there any other hero of the revolutionary period who sums up in himself the characteristics of his age sufficiently to make his life the life of the times. There were many leaders and many different points of view. What were the determining views? Who were the advocates of them? What were the chief events in the struggle? Who were the men associated with them? There were Otis, John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Hutchinson, Franklin, Dickinson, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Washington, Pitt, Grenville, Lord North, and George III. What manner of men were they? What kind of homes did they come from? What educational advantages had they enjoyed? What was their social position? What were their personal characteristics? What was their occupation? Were they successful in private life? Were they good neighbors? Were they seekers after public office? Did they hold public positions? Who were their friends? Who were their enemies? What were their personal controversies and grievances? Up to this point the aim is merely to know the men as men, to think of them much as we think of our personal acquaintances. When now we turn to the principles and acts of the Revolution and meet our acquaintances, some on one side and some on the other, the whole movement is humanized for us. We see in the conflict between

¹ New York, 1900, p. v.

England and the colonies opposing principles, but we see also opposing personal tastes, interests, ambitions, and hopes. We see the cost to some and the gain to others, among those who took sides.

In connection with such studies in the senior high school, there should be some discussion of the nature of biography. As a species of literature it was so long associated with purposes other than the faithful portrayal of individual lives, and is still so often influenced by other purposes, that it is, on the whole, suspected of lagging behind history of the scientific type in its pursuit of truth. Much of the old biography was either so eulogistic or so hostile in tone that later biographers have found wide occupation in "debunking" characters or redressing their wrongs. Many a character has had his life written both by friends who saw no faults and by enemies who saw little except faults. Many a character has entered biography in a form designed to please his immediate family or his remote descendants. How friendship and consideration for the family may figure even in a great biography is shown by a letter which John Hay, under date of January 27, 1884, wrote to R. T. Lincoln.

"Dear Bob:—

"Nicolay tells me he has laid before you or is about to do so, the first volume of our history, containing the chapters in which I have described the first forty years of your father's life.

"I need not tell you that every line has been written in a spirit of reverence and regard. Still you may find here and there words or sentences which do not suit you. I write now to request that you will read with a pencil in your hand and strike out everything to which you object. I will adopt your view in all cases, whether I agree with it or not. . . ."¹

Sometimes striking omissions are openly avowed with the suggestion that certain things ought to be forgotten. Edward Stanwood in his *James Gillespie Blaine* devotes six pages to the encounter of April, 1866, between Blaine and Conkling. He indicates the nature of Conkling's speech and then continues: "It is not well to reproduce the reply of Mr. Blaine, one of the

¹ Thayer, William Roscoe, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, Boston. 1915, pp. 24-25.

years + 100 years + 100 years ago, and so on as far as you want to go.

When you are thinking of how long any time seems to you, you are using your *time sense*, and the more you use your time sense, the better your time sense will be.

Many people read dates without using their time sense. Then dates do not mean much. You use your time sense whenever you ask of a date, "How long ago does that seem to me?" Try your time sense on the following dates: 1930, 1900, 1850, 1800, 1700, 1500, 1000.

After some such introduction, children may be asked to make and keep time rolls. A time roll is easy to make. Paste together pieces of paper three or four inches wide until you have a strip five feet long or ten feet long or longer, if you wish. Within manageable limits, the longer the strip is, the more effective it will be. Paste one end of the strip to a round stick. Next to the stick, write "Now." At the other end of the strip write the earliest date that is to appear in the history lessons. Between that date and "Now," lay off spaces for five years or ten years or one hundred years as conditions may require. Then enter in their appropriate spaces dates as they come up in the lessons. The time rolls should all be of the same length and all of them should be spaced in the same way. The teacher must do the preliminary measuring and give the children definite instructions about the spacing. Rolled up and then gradually unfurled on the march from the earliest date to "Now," something is done for the time sense.

It is not claimed that a translation of time concepts into space concepts is a direct appeal to the time sense. It *may* be claimed that the vagueness which for all of us hangs over the "lapse of time" is thus at least made a little less vague. Our standards are of course necessarily individual and subjective, and vary with individual experience. What seems a very short time to one person may seem a very long time to another person. Five years, ten years, fifty years may seem like only yesterday where life is filled with active happiness and stretch almost like endless ages.

"Where sits the dame and wears away
Her long and vacant holiday."

A device often used with older pupils is that of the clock. It is now, let us say, 11 o'clock on a morning in 1940. Counting minutes as years, it was 10 o'clock when Garfield was nominated for the office of President of the United States. At 16 minutes past 7, the Declaration of Independence was adopted. At 2 minutes before 3, Columbus discovered San Salvador. At 4 minutes before 2 yesterday morning, Julius Caesar died. At 26 minutes before 7 day before yesterday morning, the Battle of Marathon was fought. For bringing in more remote events, seconds may be counted as years. It is an impressive device but its effectiveness is easily impaired by crowding in too many events.

There are numerous other devices for appealing to the time sense, some of them dating back as far as the seventeenth century. But the examples already cited illustrate sufficiently the possibilities.

What has not been illustrated is the problem of testing the results of appeals to the time sense. We may say in following this or that procedure, and in using this or that device, that we are cultivating the time sense of pupils. We have evidence of conscious effort on the part of pupils to exercise their time sense. We can see that the exercise interests them, often to a high degree. We can find out what imagery besides the image of a number is induced by "thinking hard" about a date. We can easily test the memory of dates. But definite and convincing tests of the time sense are still to be formulated and may prove impossible ever to formulate. We must nonetheless continue our appeals to the time sense, and we may safely assert on general principles that the more consciously the time sense is used, the better the time sense will be.

The utility of memorizing dates was long taken for granted, and the lists grew until, on the continent of Europe, pupils, in the course of their eleven or twelve years of school life, were memorizing 200 or more dates. Many schools in England and in the United States went farther by requiring pupils to memorize *verbatim* the entire textbook in history, and the system has even yet not entirely disappeared. But a different tradition was well started before the close of the nineteenth century and has been

strengthened by the social studies movement. Two years ago a mother, visiting a class in the social studies in a progressive junior high school, was moved to ask: "What is the difference between history and the social studies?" The teacher passed the question to the class. A boy raised his hand and was recognized. "History," he said, "is nothing but a lot of names and dates and the social studies are something else." The answer seemed to satisfy the mother, the teacher, and the class, for nothing more was said about the matter.

Protests against history as "nothing but a lot of names and dates" are at least as old as the eighteenth century, and much educational effort has been devoted to reducing the "lot." At the opening of the present century much was being said in the United States about "minimal essentials" in all school subjects. History for the man with one date had already been proposed. Many minimifidians were abroad in the land, and under their ministrations knowing such things as the dates of presidential administrations rose almost to the rank of a major disgrace. Excellent laymen rejoiced in the fact that they never could remember any dates except 1492 and 1776. When Calvin Coolidge was asked to write a history of the American Nation to be carved on the face of Mount Rushmore in South Dakota, the *Chicago Tribune* offered prizes ranging from \$1000 down to \$50 for histories of the United States written in 500 words or less, and 3759 persons entered the contest. In the history which won the first prize there were two dates, 1789 and 1861, and these no doubt brought the stock of many a layman's dates up to four. A certain ignorance of dates was sometimes encouraged even in university instruction. On one occasion a highly distinguished university professor of medieval history confessed with pride so little attention to dates that he could not remember even the date of the Hegira, and, addressing three colleagues seated with him at lunch, added: "I'll wager that none of you can give me the date." One of them, the least distinguished of the group, did, however, venture the guess that it was 622, and was rewarded by a look of strong disapproval.

Under American conditions teachers and pupils have a right to

expect from textbooks in history some indication of what dates, if any, should be remembered and some explanation of why they should be remembered. Textbooks for the upper grades and for the high school abound in dates and often have extended chronological tables. The dates may be inserted merely to keep the pupil chronologically conscious of where he is while he is there, and chronological tables may be intended merely for reference. If so, a statement to that effect would be acceptable. In some chronological tables important dates are printed in black-faced or other distinguishing type. Are such dates to be taken on authority as important and memorized? If so, a statement to that effect would be acceptable. An explanation of why some dates are more important than others would be even more acceptable. The question is of course related to the general question: What facts in history, if any, should be memorized? For many teachers this question is answered by guesses at where the lightning may strike in the next examination, and both the guesses and the examination may emphasize what is really important. For teachers who are guided by other considerations, the question may be answered in terms of objectives. The strictly functional approach may furnish clear answers. But what is there in the usual formulation of objectives or in the strictly functional approach that applies specifically to dates?

The teaching of some dates may be justified on the ground that they are too famous and appear too often in general literature and in the daily conversation of educated people to be neglected in school instruction. In the United States such dates seem to have reached almost the vanishing point, with 476 A.D. perhaps the most conspicuous and least deserving survivor. Some dates are kept alive through anniversaries consecrated by religion or patriotism or fellowship in special social groups, ranging from societies for the promotion of family pride to societies for the promotion of tolerance, peace, good-will, and human brotherhood. Anniversaries naturally vary with religions, peoples, and even local communities. They have been recognized in the teaching of history ever since history began to be taught and, as national or local holidays, have often furnished the first dates which children

have been called upon to remember. In the United States, holidays have held an important place in history programs for the lower grades and have often been emphasized in educational discussion. In 1901 a specialist in primary education told a Teachers' Institute that we ought to have more holidays in order to provide more opportunities for teaching history. About the same time a teacher of history in a normal school drafted a course in which all events were to be taught on their anniversary days, with some allowance for events whose anniversaries fell on days when schools were not in session. Every school should beyond doubt recognize local and national holidays, and only extreme distaste for dates would deny the propriety of using holidays to fix dates.

Among those who teach dates it seems to be generally agreed that dates which mark the beginning of phases of history commonly recognized as important should be remembered. As samples of phases which are thus marked in world history, the following may be cited: the founding of Rome, when Buddha lived, when Confucius lived, when Jesus lived, when Christianity received legal recognition in the Roman Empire, the Nicene Creed, the Hegira, the crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor, the Battle of Hastings, Magna Carta, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the first book printed in Europe, the discovery of America, the founding of Jamestown, the patent for Watt's steam engine, the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Fulton's steamboat, the Monroe Doctrine, Morse's first telegraph instrument, Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, the first Atlantic cable, the Civil War in the United States, the opening of the Suez Canal, the proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles, the telephone, the automobile, motion pictures, the Wright flying machine, the opening of the Panama Canal, the World War, the radio, the League of Nations, the Soviet régime, the Mussolini régime, the Hitler régime, the "New Deal" in the United States. The reader may be interested in noting to how many of these "beginnings" he can assign specific dates.

Another criterion is furnished by the ending of phases of his-

tory which admit of dating and are commonly recognized as important — the ending of a dynasty, of a war, of a kingdom, of slavery. But an ending in history implies the beginning of something else, so that both a beginning and an ending may be associated with a single date.

The beginnings and endings to which historians assign dates are merely the more obvious manifestations of that ceaseless change which is embodied in the historical idea of development, and the fundamental utility of dates lies in the degree of definiteness which they impart to the sense of development. Without time relations, facts are not historical; without dates, time relations are only dimly perceptible and in a series can convey only an impression of before or after something too vaguely placed for reckoning the lapse of time.

The degree of definiteness which dates are called upon to express varies with circumstances. Of some things human knowledge is still so obscure that they can be dated only by geological periods reaching into tens of thousands of years. Of some things knowledge goes far enough to say that they occurred between 5000 and 3000 B.C. In an older day history began with written records and was divided into periods, epochs, eras, and ages, all bounded by definite dates. Ancient history ended in 476 A.D. Medieval history extended from 476 A.D. to 1453. Then came modern history, which sometimes, after varying duration, changed into contemporary history. There were epochs of discovery, eras of crusading, and ages of culture. Such divisions still persist and may reveal dominant characteristics for which they furnish a convenient chronological classification. But they are now recognized at the worst as wholly arbitrary and at the best as divisions which cannot be bounded by definite dates. Textbooks in history often make proper and excellent use of minor divisions and are now, to an increasing degree, representing them by ingenious tables and diagrams.¹ Centuries have served, and still serve, a similar purpose.

¹ For some of the most recent of striking examples, see Becker, Carl Lotus, and Duncalf, Frederic, *Story of Civilization*, New York, 1938. See especially pp. 128, 430, and 604.

Dating by divisions of history is a sufficient recognition of the time relation of most of the facts that figure in history for schools. For the placing of isolated facts, the century will usually be found the simplest and most convenient, except in cases in which the placing involves crossing the line between centuries. This condition often arises, especially in placing the time in which a person lived. In such cases it is simpler to designate the years. In dating by centuries we may name the century in general or specify subdivisions as early in the century, in the first decade, the first quarter, the first half, the second half, the last quarter, the last decade, late in the century. Groups of related facts, movements, tendencies, special phases of development, when they fall within century boundaries, may, like isolated facts, be most conveniently placed by centuries.

Higher degrees of definiteness in dating are desirable and sometimes necessary to confine historical characters to places where they actually were, to establish priority, to apportion credit or discredit for a battle, an election, a policy, a belief, a practice, a discovery, an invention, a document, to connect cause and effect, to emphasize the importance of an event, and often merely to satisfy intellectual curiosity. "Is it a mortal sin," asked Frederick the Great, "to fall into error as to the exact date of the death of Belus or as to the exact day on which Darius' horse lifted his master to the Persian throne, or as to the hour at which the Golden Bull was published, whether six in the morning or seven in the evening?" The negative answers here implied were no doubt justified, but Frederick seemed to admit that it would be a mortal sin not to know that the Golden Bull was promulgated in 1356. The professor of English so hazy about dates in the life of Thomas Jefferson as to place him in the Convention of 1787 and accuse him of writing the Constitution of the United States in order to convict him of a slip in English was certainly guilty of a mortal sin. The St. Louis newspaper which, in the presidential campaign of 1900, likewise placed Jefferson in the Convention of 1787 and thus succeeded in getting a misquotation from the Declaration of Independence into the Constitution of the United States was guilty of a mortal sin. The landfall of Cabot needs at

least 1497 to score against the third voyage of Columbus, and, for partisans of Vespucci with his alleged landfall of June 6, 1497, Cabot's June 24, 1497, is significant. The day on which the Stamp Act was to go into effect in 1765 was very important to contemporary Americans and is important to us in explaining the preparations which were made to defeat it. The time of Blücher's arrival was important to Wellington and is important to us in explaining the defeat of Napoleon. The date of certain entries in the diary of John Quincy Adams has a bearing on the authorship of the Monroe Doctrine. Many events are made impressive by dating so exact that it includes the month, the day of the month, the hour, and even the minute, and some minds find pleasure in recording dates down to the minute. Teachers with a fondness for exact dates may need to exercise great self-control.

The general rule for fixing a date is never to think of the event with which it is associated without thinking of the date, and never to think of the date without thinking of the event. In the United States, July 4, 1776, is almost habitually thus associated with the Declaration of Independence, but often incorrectly with its *signing* instead of with its *adoption*. The association should of course be "July 4, 1776. Declaration of Independence adopted." To most Americans above the age of twelve, October 12, 1492, will suggest Columbus, and if Columbus does not habitually suggest October 12, 1492, he can easily be made to do so. The rule is simple; its application will require a good deal of practice in naming events when dates are given and in naming dates when events are given. That both kinds of practice are needed was discovered in the seventeenth century. To associate 1497, for example, with John Cabot is one thing; to associate John Cabot with 1497 is another thing. So we teach both 1497 John Cabot and John Cabot 1497.

So far as prejudice against dates rests upon the assumption that dates are difficult to remember, some amelioration is possible. In 1898 an instructor in a summer institute found in a group of one hundred teachers one hundred who reported inability to remember dates. Suggesting that the alleged inability might be mere laziness, the instructor challenged the group to submit to

ten minutes of daily drill for three weeks, with a guarantee that those who participated would emerge with one hundred dates in American history, would be able to recall them all after a week without drill, and would be haunted by at least some of them for the rest of their lives. A minority protested, partly on the ground that such a feat was hopelessly impossible for an average memory, and partly on the ground that no sane mortal would want to remember one hundred dates in American history. The instructor explained that his purpose was not to impose one hundred dates on American schools; it was merely to test the alleged inability to remember dates. He had, he continued, arbitrarily hit upon one hundred as a convenient and sufficient number and would arbitrarily omit dates likely to be already fixed. About three-fourths of the group voted to accept the challenge and most of the others agreed to participate in the drill. The instructor, anticipating some such outcome, rolled up a map and disclosed on the blackboard something like the following list:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1524. Verrazano. | 1524. | 1583. Gilbert. | 1583. |
| 1528. Cabeza de Vaca. | 1528. | 1584. Amadas and Barlow. | 1584. |
| 1531. Pizarro. | 1531. | 1615. Champlain (Lake Huron). | 1615. |
| 1534. Cartier. | 1534. | 1634. Nicolet (Lake Michigan). | 1634. |
| 1540. Coronado. | 1540. | 1673. Marquette and Joliet. | 1673. |

In concert the group chanted "1524. Verrazano. Verrazano. 1524." The Verrazano dating was erased. The group chanted "1524. Verrazano. Verrazano. 1524. 1528. Cabeza de Vaca. Cabeza de Vaca. 1528." The Cabeza de Vaca dating was erased. The group chanted "1524. Verrazano. Verrazano. 1524. 1528. Cabeza de Vaca. Cabeza de Vaca. 1528." Thus, always chanting from the beginning, the group went down the list until all of the dates had been erased and then, putting in the dates, chanted the entire list, which now stood:

Verrazano.
Cabeza de Vaca.
Pizarro, etc.

Skipping about, the instructor pointed at names and called for dates. Skipping about among the ten dates, he called for names.

A chanting of the entire list concluded the first day's exercise. The next day the ten names appeared again on the blackboard without dates. Following these came ten new names or events with dates. Supplying the dates, the group chanted the first ten names. The new items were then treated in the manner of the first exercise. Day by day ten new items were added so that on the tenth day the list of one hundred stood complete. The next five days were devoted to skipping about among the hundred items, testing sometimes individuals and sometimes the group in concert. There the drill ended. One week later a written test almost made good the instructor's guarantee of retention for a week, and occasional evidence which has since drifted in seems to indicate that in some individual cases a considerable fraction of the hundred dates found permanent lodgment. As recently as the summer of 1938 a woman introduced herself to the instructor as "one of those teachers who had learned a hundred dates" and spoke of the drill as a high point in her career. The purpose, however, let it be repeated, was not to impose one hundred dates; it was merely to test alleged inability to remember dates; and the result is not to be taken as a recommendation of date-stuffing.

Where it is assumed that pupils can and should memorize some dates, the method of drill which has just been described will still be found useful. Two or three minutes of such drill at the beginning of a history lesson, besides fixing dates, may capture attention distracted by some exciting experience just before coming to class. Exercises in skipping about should be left largely to the initiative of the class, with each pupil free to call on whom he pleases, including the teacher. Children between the ages of ten and fourteen have been known to grow so fond of hurling at each other dates to be associated with persons or events and persons or events to be associated with dates that they have carried the "game" to the playground. After the age of fourteen less enthusiasm for such exercises may reasonably be expected. Here, as in almost any school instruction which requires exactness, except in mathematics and the foreign languages, there is much that is discouraging in educational philosophy. But here, as elsewhere, interest is likely to grow with a sense of mastery.

If it is desirable to build up in school any exact and lasting knowledge of the course of human development, a simple chronological classification of salient, related facts may with reason be regarded as the most convenient and effective framework that has ever been devised. The classification may be very general. A procession of dates may summarize the development of Greece, the development of Rome, the development of human civilization. The classification may be more restricted. A procession of dates may summarize the career of Napoleon Bonaparte or George Washington, the spread of Christianity, the European colonization of America, the rise and fall of negro slavery in the United States, the development of machinery, of the fine arts, of democracy, of any special institution or practice. Many textbooks have excellent classified chronological tables, diagrams, and outlines which can easily be contracted or expanded as occasion may require. Only those who see a procession of dates going by whenever they think of a country, a notable character, an outstanding institution or practice can judge with intelligence the utility of such associations. Is this a return to the history that is "nothing but a lot of names and dates"? It may be for those who miss the meaning of the procession. Even so, a connected series of names definitely associated with dates may at least be less harmful than the vague misinformation with which many school children are now attacking the profoundest questions of the day.

There is here no intention to defend the learning of dates merely as dates or to claim for such procedure any utility beyond the exercise of memory. To make dates really useful as aids to the understanding of history, there must be frequent and searching reviews of the facts which they place and, in dealing with series of dates, frequent exercises in which pupils, without prompting, use the facts in tracing a course of development. Facts to be historical, let it again be repeated, must have some time relation. The only question for the teacher of history is: How definite should the time relation be? Two or three minutes taken from each history lesson for drill on definite dates will convince any teacher of the possibility of fixing more dates than any teacher would dare to teach. Discretion is necessary, but even discretion need experi-

ence no special shock if pupils at the end of their school career find themselves in complete control over, let us say, one hundred definite dates. Where a date to be learned is accompanied by a question mark, the question mark is of course to be treated as a part of the date.

Some children when introduced for the first time to a date with a question mark after it have been known to ask the reason for the question mark and, after receiving the obvious answer that "we don't know exactly when it was," have made the teacher impatient by asking, "Why don't we know?" Teachers unable to explain the uncertainty in any uncertain date have perhaps a right to be impatient, but whether with children who want to know why we don't know or with those who neglected to instruct the teachers themselves in such matters may be a debatable question. Children who have learned the meaning of B.C. and A.D. sometimes want to know why Christ is said to have been born in 4 B.C. A graduate student of history once offered the information that the Christian chronology was introduced in 4 B.C. Can the reader explain this 4 B.C.? Many questions in chronology can be made to appeal to children as early as the age of ten or eleven. Some people who were alive at the time said that Charlemagne was crowned Emperor on Christmas day, 801. We say that he was crowned Emperor on Christmas day, 800. Both dates are correct. How can that be? Columbus wrote in his *Journal* that he landed October 12, 1492, and our Columbus Day is October 12. Columbus was right but we are wrong. How can that be? Until 1752 George Washington was born February 11, 1731; after 1752 he was born, as now, February 22, 1732. But both dates mark the same day. How can that be?

In some quarters such questions may seem trivial. But, to be really intelligent about dates, some notion of the difficulties and uncertainties which beset the science of chronology may well be regarded as essential. To some extent textbooks recognize this. They explain the absence of dates for the so-called prehistoric period. They contain allusions to the calendars of the ancient Egyptians and of the ancient Babylonians. They may describe the defects which were corrected by the Julian Calendar and fur-

ther corrected by the Gregorian Calendar. They may mention O. S. and N. S. and double dating and the demand of English workmen for the restoration of their lost eleven days. Pupils who study ancient history in the high school are likely to learn how easy it is to convert Olympiads and the Roman A. U. C. (*anno urbis conditae*) into Christian chronology. They may, however, also learn to suspect that the Greeks probably did not begin to count by Olympiads the day after the victory of Coroebus and that the Romans probably did not begin their A. U. C. the day after Rome was founded. Thus equipped some pupils may want to know something more about their basic 776 B.C. and 753 (?) B.C., the outcome of which may be that 776 B.C., so long and so widely serenely secure, becomes 776 (?) B.C. and 753 (?) B.C. becomes only a conventional conjecture selected from among several conflicting Roman conjectures. To some pupils, even in the high school, it may seem rather odd that Christ should have been born before the beginning of the Christian era, and this may lead to the discovery that Christians for some centuries lived and died without any Christian chronology.

CHAPTER XI

THE USE OF MAPS

MAPS are representations of the whole or of parts of the earth's surface. They indicate location, direction, distance, extent, area, land and water forms. They may indicate innumerable other conditions: elevation, air or ocean currents, routes of travel, areas of political or other control, the quantity and distribution of rainfall, of agricultural and mineral productions and of manufactures, the volume and movement of trade, the number and distribution of communicants of churches, of members of political parties, of votes in an election, of native and foreign-born persons, of illiterates, of schools and colleges, of readers of good books, of frequenters of art museums, of the number or quantity, and distribution, of phenomena of any kind that can be counted or measured, and located.

The primary purpose of maps is to assist the pupil in grasping the place relation, or, to put the matter more generally, to assist the pupil in keeping history on the earth. For some purposes mere localization, or localization and some impression of distance, extent, or area, may be sufficient. That Jefferson was in France and not in Philadelphia in 1787 is a fact sufficiently suggestive in its relation to the framing of the Constitution of the United States without visualizing France. That a small island south of the equator would eliminate Napoleon from European politics more effectually than a small island in the Mediterranean can be understood without visualizing either of the islands. Very often, however, the facts demand definite conceptions of actual geographic conditions. The physical background is needed to make the facts real; it is needed also, in many cases, to explain the facts.

The general use to be made of maps in the history lesson may seem too obvious for discussion. For a typical class exercise with

a wall map, have, first of all, a pointer with a rubber tip. Place the rubber tip on or near a small black circle and pronounce the word "Paris." Move the rubber tip to and fro over a mass of pale green and pronounce the word "France." Follow an irregular black line and pronounce the word "Seine." Could anything be simpler? Probably not, nor, in many cases, more useless. The pupil very often locates in this way, not Paris, but only a small black circle on the map. Talk about Paris and he sees the circle. Talk about France and he sees a dash of pale green. Talk about the Seine and he sees an irregular black line. How often does he, assuming that he has not actually been in France, see anything else? One exceptionally intelligent teacher to whom this question was put, after searching his own mind and the minds of his pupils for impressions left by maps, and finding chiefly maps, became so dissatisfied that he proceeded forthwith to banish maps altogether from his classroom and thereafter kept his geographical forms and relations wholly in the air. He was an extremist, but his heart was right. He wanted his pupils to locate and image realities, and he recognized that to keep history on a map may be keeping it on the earth only in the sense that the map itself is necessarily on the earth.

The simplest questions, and those most frequently asked of maps, relate to mere location. Where in the world is France and where in France are Paris and the Seine? We point to Paris on a map. Does that locate Paris for us? Undoubtedly, provided we have a sense of direction and some conception of the distance of Paris from our own position, provided, that is, we can supplement our pointing at Paris on the map by pointing at actual Paris and can realize the miles that separate us therefrom. But how many of us are accustomed to meet the conditions of the proviso? For answer let the average reader apply a few simple tests to himself.

If, as frequently happens, children have history stories before they have had any geography, and if it is desirable to teach the place where, an introduction may assume the following form:

You have all heard of places said to be far away. Name any place that you have heard is far away. Did you ever ask: "How far is far away?"

Far away is of course a long way. But how long is a long way? "How far away from school do you live?" asks George. "Oh, a long way," says Robert, who has to walk about a mile to school. "Where was the fire last night?" asks Kate. "Oh, a long way from here," says her mother, who thinks that it was about five miles away. A long way is a way that seems long to us. So there are many kinds of far away.

Just telling how far away a place is does not really tell us where the place is. We need to know one other thing. Can you think of what it is? It is the direction from where we are. So we ask not only, "How far away is it?" We ask also, "Is it north, south, east, or west? Is it northeast, northwest, southeast, or southwest?"

Think of a place a mile east from where you are. Have you ever been there? How did you go? Does it seem far away to you? Think of a place ten miles north from where you are. Have you ever been there? How did you go? Does it seem far away to you? Think of the farthest away from home that you have ever been. How did you go? How far was it? In what direction was it? Point in that direction. Does it seem far away to you?

By thinking of places where you have been, you find out how far distance seems to you. In this way you find out how far a mile seems to you, how far ten miles seem to you, how far one hundred miles seem to you, and perhaps even how far a thousand or more miles seem to you. When you can *feel* how far from you a place is and in what direction it is from where you are, you know where the place is.

For help in finding out where places are, we use maps. A map is something like a picture. Here the teacher draws on the board a diagram showing where the schoolhouse is and where half a dozen near-by things are. The diagram is called a "map." At the top is N for north; at the right is E for east, etc. Below is a line which shows how far on the map fifty feet would be. The children are told that this line is used in measuring distances and is called a *scale*. The teacher measures on the map the distance from the schoolhouse to each of the other things on the map and tells the

children how far each of the things is from the schoolhouse. The children look at the map and tell what direction each of the things is from the schoolhouse and point in the direction of the actual thing itself. The teacher now draws a diagram of a somewhat larger area — the town in which the school is located, if the town is small; half a dozen blocks in each direction from the school, if the town is large — putting in streets known to the children, a few buildings, and a few other things such as a baseball ground, a tennis court, a park. The teacher, again using a scale, measures distances, the children name the direction of each thing from the school, and point toward the actual thing.

After some such experience, children may be told that many maps show larger parts of the outside of the earth. Some of them even show the whole outside of the earth and are called "maps of the world." The children have heard of their own state and some of its towns. A map of the state is shown. With the help of the teacher, the children find some of the towns on the map. They tell the direction of each town from their own town and point in that direction. With the scale of miles, the teacher measures the distances. Children have heard of the United States and of some foreign countries. On a Mercator map of the world they can find the United States and the foreign countries of which they have heard. They have heard of some towns outside of their own state. On a Mercator map of the world they can find some of those towns and tell the direction from their home town. In this connection, it is a good plan to have an outline Mercator painted on the blackboard and to draw a line from the home town to any other town that may be mentioned in a history lesson. This line will show the direction of the other town on the map, and children may then be asked to point in that actual direction. Distances in miles should be written along the lines. Above a sixth grade, pupils can be taught to measure distances on a globe. If a good globe with a scale of miles is not available, railroad time tables or automobile guides may be consulted for distances. These show of course *travel* distances and not *direct* distances.

In a well-known school, a teacher not on the regular staff, preparing a history lesson for the second grade, asked the principal if

the children knew that the earth is round. "No one," was the answer, "would dare to ask them." The teacher did dare and found that every child in the grade had somehow learned the shape of the earth. Children who do not know may be told what the shape of the earth is. They will then understand that the best way to make a map of the world is to make it on a rather large ball. Such a ball with a map of the world on it, it should be explained, is called a *globe*, and the map is a *globe map*. A globe cannot of course be put into a book. If a book is to have maps, they must be flat maps. Did you ever, the children may be asked, take the cover off a baseball and try to stretch it out flat? Could you do it? If the outside of the earth could be taken off and stretched out flat, it would look to a person at a great distance something like this map of the world (the Mercator which the children have been using). With the help of the teacher, the children now find on the globe some of the towns which they have already found on the Mercator, and, after that, most of them will like a globe better than a Mercator. If some teachers fear that the world-whole is too large a unit, they will find, if they try it, that children get more excited about the world-whole than about a map of their schoolyard.

Where history lessons do not begin until after children have had some geography, the children are likely to know something about the use of maps, and preparatory instruction may be unnecessary. Many children learn to read maps before they reach school age. The teacher who dared to ask a second grade about the shape of the earth had hung a Mercator on the wall and had a large globe on the desk when the children entered the room. "Oh," some of them exclaimed, "there's a map of the world," and, looking at the desk, "there's a globe." The children, without having been taught anything in school about maps, knew so much that the teacher's carefully prepared lesson was ruined and he did not make the mistake of trying to teach them what they already knew.

For any place that is to be definitely located, attention to distance and direction is as necessary in the high school as in the lower grades. It is not enough to think distance and direction in

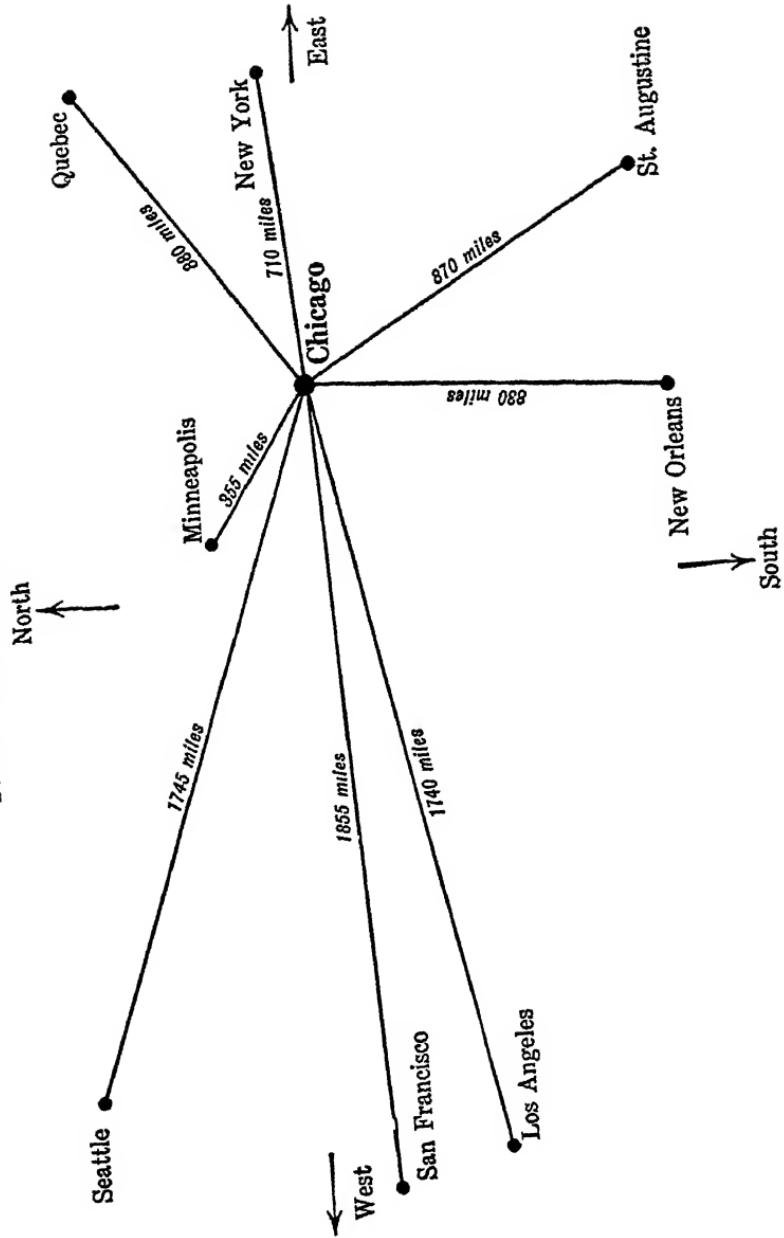
terms of the map, calling the top of the map north and the side at the right east. The pupil must have some feeling for actual distance and direction. Moreover, the top of the map may or may not be north; the right of the map may or may not be east. Many maps have a different orientation. On modern maps of large areas, direction is indicated by parallels and meridians, and when these are represented by curved lines, the top and side idea of direction may easily prove misleading. Beginning not later than the seventh grade, pupils should be trained to follow parallels and meridians for directions on the map, but, as curved lines, these are often confusing even to high school pupils. Where the distance is so great as to require allowance for the curvature of the earth, the exercise of pointing in the actual direction is subject to qualification which is made obvious by the use of a globe.

At any stage of instruction, distance and direction can be greatly clarified by drawing lines from the home town as suggested for younger pupils. The resulting diagram may be called a *place chart*. It may be constructed within a blackboard or other outline of a Mercator map of the world or merely as lines without any map. The figure on page 226 suggests a place chart for pupils living in Chicago and is so simple that upper grade pupils anywhere can easily construct such a chart for their own home town. The places to be included will of course be determined by the history which is being taught. The distances shown on the Chicago chart are *direct* distances, and, if compared with actual *travel* distances, will raise interesting geographic and economic questions.

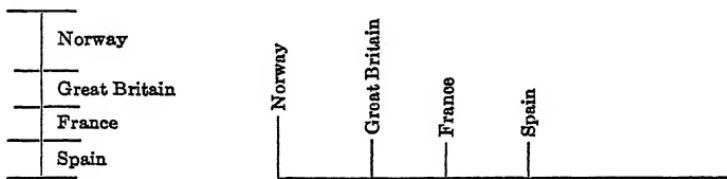
The aim of exercises of this kind, it is perhaps needless to state, is not to fix in memory the directions and distances from the pupil's own position of all places and countries mentioned in the history lesson. A few of those to which reference is most frequently made should be thus fixed, but the chief aim is to give the pupil a sense of where he is in history while he is there. Nor should such exercises be repeated every time a place or country is mentioned. What should be done is to establish the habit of associating actual direction and actual distance with location.

Other familiar questions asked of maps relate to extent and

Place Chart for Chicago

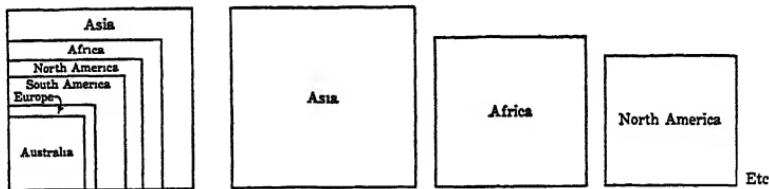


area. Estimates of these as represented on maps are usually vague. Where the differences are very perceptible pupils recognize, of course, that one coast line is longer or shorter than another coast line, and that the area of one country is greater or less than the area of another country. But relatively few pupils are able to recognize ratios as simple as 1 to 2 or 3 to 4. Still fewer can approximate a 1 to 4, a 5 to 6, or a 7 to 8 ratio. The teacher who doubts this can easily test the matter. The relative extent north and south of Norway, Great Britain, France, and Spain can, for example, be represented by lines in either of the following ways:



Let the line representing the extent of Great Britain be taken as 1. How many will see without actual measurement that Norway will then be approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$, France $\frac{2}{3}$, and Spain $\frac{5}{6}$?

Again, the areas of continents can be represented in either of the following ways:



Let Europe be taken as 1. How many will see without actual measurement that Asia will then be approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$, Africa 3, North America 2, South America $1\frac{5}{6}$, and Australia $\frac{5}{6}$?

Where exact comparisons are desired, extent should be stated in miles and areas in square miles. Where only rough approximations are desired, there should at least be conscious appeals to the scale of miles in estimating extent and to some standard unit of surface in estimating areas. For the American pupil the most obvious unit of surface is the state in which the pupil lives.

But if this happens to be Texas, the unit will be too large; if it happens to be Rhode Island, the unit will be too small. In such cases some other state must be chosen. In any event it is necessary to have some unit and to realize the area of the unit. For pupils who have traveled even a little this is not difficult. For others such distances as have been actually experienced must be taken as the basis. At the very least the area of the community can be grasped. This can be compared with the area of the county, and the latter with the area of the state. The ideal arrangement would then be to have the state represented in every map used, and on the same scale as the rest of the map. Such an arrangement has been adopted, with France as the unit, in a number of the Vidal-Lablache maps. In America, with a state as a unit, there would need to be a set of maps for each state, which is, of course, scarcely practicable. Some of the atlases take one state as a unit and some another; some of them have different states for different maps. The pupil is, therefore, called upon to form conceptions of the areas of such states as happen to be used in the maps placed before him.

At best the relative areas of countries are realized vaguely in looking at ordinary maps in the ordinary way. One ingenious teacher, conscious of this condition and desirous of improving it for the countries of Europe, "made a tracing of the whole continent from the wall map, then he colored each of the countries with a flat wash, next he cut out all the countries and mounted Russia on a sheet of paper that just comfortably received it. After this he got a series of sheets of paper of the exact size used to mount Russia, and pasted on each of them one of the other countries of Europe. The amount of white margin in the case of small countries like Denmark and Belgium certainly emphasized their relative poverty of area."¹ A map of the United States cut up in the same way would yield new and interesting impressions of individual states.

A standing source of confusion in comparing maps of different parts of the earth's surface is the use of different scales. One atlas, for example, allots a double page to Connecticut and Rhode

¹ Adams, John, *Exposition and Illustration in Teaching*, New York, 1910, p. 362.

Island, another double page to Switzerland, and another double page to Russia. Wall maps have one scale for Europe and another scale for North America. A uniform map of the world would greatly simplify the entire problem of map interpretation, and such a map is now, by international agreement, actually in course of construction.

Another source of confusion is the use of different map projections. In the familiar Mercator projection, for example, the meridians are represented as parallel straight lines. There is thus a distortion of longitudes away from the equator. At latitude 60 a degree of longitude on the globe is only half the length of a degree of longitude at the equator. On a Mercator projection the mathematical proportions are, however, preserved by distortions of latitude corresponding to distortions of longitude, that is, by representing parallels as farther and farther apart away from the equator. Greenland, measured in degrees on a Mercator, while thus mathematically correct, looks as big as Africa, the actual size of which is equivalent to about twenty Greenlands. The pupil should at least be made conscious that there are different kinds of map projections and that when any considerable part of the earth's surface is represented the relative areas of the same countries, and even their shapes, as seen by the eye, vary somewhat with the kind of projection.¹

Ideas of mere location, of distance, of extent, or of area may be formed without seeing actual rivers, lakes, oceans, cities, or countries, and may, as already suggested, for some purposes be sufficient. Frequently, however, visualization is essential. The material background is needed either to make history real or to explain it.

Children usually learn in the earlier stages of instruction to think of maps in terms of their own actual geographical environment. They are given every opportunity and inducement to apply such experience as they may have acquired through travel. They work at the sand table. They mold geographical forms in clay. They have placed before them models and pictures. Their

¹ For a discussion of map projection see Johnson, Willis Ernest, *Mathematical Geography*, New York, 1907, 336 pp., pp. 190-225.

earlier excursions on a map are likely, therefore, to be sufficiently realistic. But the problem of making maps real seems, in many cases, to drop out of the teacher's consciousness before the habit of reading maps as they are supposed to be read has been firmly established. In the upper grades, so far at least as the history lesson is concerned, the average pupil confronted by a map sees very often a map and nothing more. In the high school there is, as a rule, little or no instruction in geography and the average pupil in dealing with history continues very often to see in a map a map and nothing more. The remedy, where this condition exists, is to appeal anew to the pupil's own geographical environment, to his experience in travel, to models and pictures. Teachers should appreciate that pupils, whether in the grades or in the high school, who have never seen the ocean or a mountain, may wander in outer darkness through accounts of matters as self-explanatory to more favored readers as the search for a harbor or for a mountain pass. Similarly dwellers by the sea or in the mountains may need special assistance in realizing even simple geographical conditions different from those presented by their own environment.

The relation of geographical conditions to human development has in recent times attracted very general attention and is sometimes claimed as a strictly modern discovery. "Thirty or forty years ago," said Lord Bryce in 1908, "it was practically an untrodden field."¹ Forty years earlier a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, in an account setting forth the relation, looked back another forty years to find the "untrodden" period.² Yet even then the idea was not entirely new. The physical factors in civilization, with special reference to the influence of climate, had been discussed by Montesquieu in his *Spirit of the Laws*, published in 1748. The general field of "geographic influence" had, indeed, with much learning and insight, been covered in the sixteenth century by Bodin. It was even recognized, though only incidentally, by some ancient thinkers, and the father of history

¹ Report, Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, 1908, p. 7.

² *Contemporary Review*, V, 29-49.

was himself not unmindful of it. Its general recognition as a factor to be invoked in the teaching of history is, however, quite modern, and the treatment of it is still far from satisfactory. The usual plan is to describe the physical features of a country and to state in general terms their historical significance by way of introduction to the history of a country, and then to develop the history without any further reference to them. This falls far short of meeting the needs of the situation. The physical features should be brought in specifically to explain specific conditions and events. They should be woven into the body of the narrative wherever they are needed and not relegated to a bare introduction. There should be, not merely one general physical map, but special detailed physical maps setting forth the special features to be realized in dealing with particular situations as they arise in the course of the narrative.

There are other complications. Maps vary of necessity with the state of geographical knowledge. The ancient Greeks and Romans knew but a small part of the world and could, therefore, represent but a small part of it. The revelation of other parts to their successors came slowly. Great advances were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century multitudes of facts recorded on maps of to-day were still unknown. Again, many geographical facts are themselves subject to change. Names attached by one people to mountains, rivers, lakes, towns, and countries yield to other names attached by other peoples. Old names migrate to new localities. Boundaries shift with shifting political power. A wilderness becomes inhabited, new towns and new states with new names grow up. Old towns and old states decay and disappear, regions once cultivated and inhabited revert to jungle or to desert. It is, then, a changing map that is to be interpreted in the history class. The pupil is called upon to realize the physical world, not only as we now suppose it to be, but as men of other generations supposed it to be, to identify in varying kinds of representation and under a variety of names this or that portion of the earth, to associate with this or that name shifting forms and areas,—in a word, to view the map itself historically, to take

account, that is, not only of geography, but of historical geography.

Past geographical conditions can be represented either as contemporaries supposed them to be or as we now know them to have been. The world of Ptolemy's day, for example, may be set forth either on a Ptolemaic map or on a modern map. Contemporary maps are sometimes important. The plans and hopes of Columbus need for their elucidation map representations of the kind used by Columbus. The grants of territory in America secured from the Crown by English subjects in the seventeenth century need for their elucidation seventeenth century maps. History has been made by maps as well as recorded in maps. In the main, however, the purpose of maps is to represent actual geographic conditions. The route of Columbus, however influenced by fifteenth century maps, lay across an actual ocean and can obviously be traced only on maps that represent the ocean as it is. The sea to sea boundaries of Virginia, "west and north-west," however influenced by seventeenth century maps, can, as actually applied by Virginians, obviously be traced only on maps that represent physical North America as it really is. Historical geography in school is, for the most part, concerned with changes in actual areas of political or other control and with changes in nomenclature relating thereto. For the most part, therefore, past geographic conditions are represented on modern maps. The outline of physical Europe, for example, wears the same aspect for studies of ancient as for studies of modern Europeans. The differences are in the subdivisions of the map and in the names associated with them. The pupil is made aware that Italy and France were not always on the map of Europe and did not always present the map forms which they present to-day. The actual earth forms thus apportioned and reapportioned remain relatively constant and are represented as constant on the map. The same condition applies to the actual spatial relations of any other historical data included in map representation. The trade routes of antiquity, of the Middle Ages, and of to-day are alike represented on modern maps. For the most part, therefore, map interpretation is concerned with modern maps.

Thus far in the discussion it has been tacitly assumed that the maps to be interpreted are ordinary wall maps and maps of the kind found in textbooks and atlases. For most of the geographical questions that arise in the history lesson, reference to such ready-made maps, accompanied by proper interpretation, will be sufficient. But there should also be some map construction by the pupil. The mere copying of ready-made maps, accompanied by proper interpretation, deepens impressions of geographic conditions. The reproduction of maps from memory adds still greater definiteness to map interpretation. In either case the pupil may sketch the map in its entirety or may merely fill in details on printed or blackboard outlines.

Reproductions of maps from memory, common under an older régime but rather uncommon now, are not difficult to manage. All of the work can be done during the class period. As a first step the entire class may be sent to the blackboard and told to sketch from the textbook the outline, let us say, of Greece. After ten or fifteen minutes of this kind of work at the beginning of each of two or three recitations, a time limit may be set. The class may be told to sketch the outline in five minutes, then in two minutes, then in one minute. As a second step the class may be told to draw as much of the outline as possible from memory and to refer to the textbook only so far as may be necessary. This practice may be continued until every member of the class can sketch the outline entirely from memory in two minutes or less. As further steps the various details desired may, in the same way, be progressively introduced until every member of the class can sketch the outline and fill in quickly and almost mechanically any details that may be required. Exercises of this kind admit of extension to any country and assure, at an average cost of four or five minutes per day, the kind of knowledge of geographical conditions which all teachers of history believe essential. Incidentally, such exercises at the beginning of the recitation prepare for other matters by fixing attention upon the lesson. The monotony which they may at first suggest is relieved by varying from day to day the details to be represented, and by the pleasure that comes from a sense of mastery.

Some constructive work beyond mere copying or mere reproduction from memory is also desirable. Historical maps should not be left altogether in a realm of mystery and blind faith. Those red or blue or black lines that show so clearly and definitely the wanderings of barbarian tribes in the fifth century, or of European explorers in America in the sixteenth century, should not be taken too seriously. The pupil should have some consciousness of the data from which historical maps are constructed.

A class in the high school may be asked to prepare a map not found in textbooks nor in the ordinary atlases, a map, for example, of the territory set apart for his younger sons by Louis the Pious, in 817. The official declaration was as follows:

"1. We will that Pippin shall have Aquitania and Gascony, and all the March of Toulouse, and moreover four counties; namely, in Septimania Carcassone, and in Burgundy Autun, l'Avalonnais and Nevers.

"2. Likewise we will that Louis shall have Bavaria and Carinthia, and the Bohemians, Avars, and Slavs, who are on the eastern side of Bavaria; and furthermore, two demesne towns to do service to him, in the county of Nortgau, Lauterburg and Ingolstadt."¹

The problem here is merely to locate the areas designated by the names and mark them off in an appropriate manner on an outline map or on a sketch made by the pupil. The larger divisions are easily found in an atlas like Shepherd's. The search for the counties and towns will raise questions that illustrate in a simple way one kind of difficulty encountered by map makers.

A sixth or seventh grade working with the teacher, or a senior class in the high school working independently, may be asked to trace the route of Columbus across the Atlantic in 1492, as recorded in his *Journal*.² In the following summary of the data thus supplied, the numbers after their dates indicate the distance in leagues and the letters the points of the compass.

¹ Henderson, Ernest Flagg, *Select Documents of the Middle Ages*, London, 1903, p. 203.

² The text and a map of the "four voyages of Columbus" may be found in *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, New York, 1906. Volume in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner's, New York, 1906-1919.

- August 3.—15. S.; "afterwards S.W. and W.S.W., which was the course for the Canaries."
- 4.— "They steered S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S." (Distance not recorded.)
- 5.—40. (Direction not recorded.)
- 6.—29. (Direction not recorded.)
- 7.—25. "On a course for the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries."
- 8 to September 2.—(Direction and distance not recorded. *Pinta* repaired at Canaries.) "The Admiral reached Gomera on Sunday the 2nd of September, with the *Pinta* repaired."
- September 6.— "He departed on that day from the port of Gomera in the morning, and shaped a course to go on his voyage. . . . There was a calm all that day and night, and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerife."
- 7.— "The calm continued. . . ."
- 8.—9. W.
- 9.—49. "The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N.E."
- 10.—60. (Direction not recorded.)
- 11.—40. W.
- 12.—33. "Steering their course."
- 13.—33. W.
- 14.—20. W.
- 15.—27. W.
- 16.—39. W.
- 17.—50. W.
- 18.—55. (Direction not recorded.)
- 19.—25. "The Admiral continued on his course. . . ."
- 20.—7 or 8. "He sailed this day toward the West a quarter northwest . . . because of the veering winds and calm that prevailed."
- 21.—13. (Direction not recorded.)
- 22.—30. W.N.W.
- 23.—22. N.W.
- 24.—14. W.
- 25.—4. W., then 17. S.W.
- 26.—31. W., "until afternoon"; then S.W., "until he made out that what had been said to be land was only clouds."
- 27.—24. W.
- 28.—14. W.

- September 29. — 24. W.
30. — 14. W.
October 1. — 25. W.
2. — 39. W.
3. — 47. W.
4. — 63. W.
5. — 57. "The Admiral steered his course."
6. — 40. W.
7. — 23. W., then 5. W.S.W.
8. — 12. W.S.W.
9. — 5. S.W., then 4. W. by N. "Altogether in day
and night, they made 11 leagues by day
and $20\frac{1}{2}$ leagues by night."
10. — 59. W.S.W.
11. — 27. W.S.W., then 22. "At two hours after mid-
night the land was sighted at a distance of
two leagues."¹

The problem here is to note the distance and direction of each day's sailing and lay off to scale the entire course from August 3 to the morning of October 12. For effective blackboard work there should be about 8 feet of space. One inch may then be taken to represent 12 leagues. The pupils should have their textbook maps of the voyage before them, and also a ready-made wall map or chart of the voyage. Where the text of the *Journal* is accessible, the chief incidents of the voyage may be located and added to the blackboard sketch at the points at which they are recorded.

Such an exercise will illustrate another kind of difficulty in the making of historical maps. The pupil will see that the usual map representation of the route does not follow exactly the record in the *Journal* and that the gaps in the record seem to have been bridged by inference. Both conditions will suggest questions and comments, and the result of the exercise should be a more intelligent view of the map of the great voyage.

Again, a seventh grade working with the teacher, or a senior class in the high school working independently, may be asked to prepare a map of the territory granted to the London and Plymouth Companies by the charter of 1606. For a seventh

¹ *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, New York, 1906, pp. 91-110. In *Original Narratives*.

grade the essential portions of the charter should be read to the class very slowly and discussed step by step.

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, etc. WHEREAS our loving and well disposed Subjects [eight mentioned by name], and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly called *VIRGINIA*, and other parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian Prince* or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly Latitude* from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coast thereof;

What was "that part of America commonly called Virginia"? Recall the origin of the name. What was the grant to Raleigh? His charter, granted by Elizabeth in 1584, gave him "free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People, as to him . . . shall seem good, and the same to have, holde, occupie and enjoy. . . ." How did Raleigh know that this meant America? What lands were "viewed" for him or by him? What lands were occupied? These questions will bring out the vagueness from which Virginia is now about to emerge. Returning to the extract from the charter of 1606, what lands were at that time possessed by Christian princes or peoples? What is meant by "Equinoctial Line"? Find "four and thirty Degrees of Northerly latitude" on the sea coast; "five and forty degrees." Draw lines on the blackboard to represent the parallels of 34° and 45° . Mark the points where the seacoast would be. Sketch the general trend of the coast line between these parallels. Draw a line at sea one hundred miles from the coast.¹ How much

¹ Time is saved when the teacher makes the blackboard sketch. But the exercise is more effective when the drawing is done by the class.

of the land can thus far be definitely located? The preamble continues:

And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London* and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them. . . . And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our town of Plimouth, and of other places, which do join themselves unto that Colony. . . .

Ask some pupil to describe in his own words the arrangement here proposed. Why were two "Colonies and Companies" desired? The word "Adventurers" is used in a sense unlikely to be familiar to children. Have a member of the class find it in the dictionary and explain it. A few other words may need similar treatment. Before passing to the next paragraph go back to "James, by the Grace of God, King," and read the entire preamble as cited. Ask the class for a summary. Then read:

We greatly commanding, and graciously accepting of, their Desires . . . do, therefore . . . GRANT and agree, that the said . . . Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *first Colony*; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* or *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude. . . .

Has any land thus far been granted? What is granted? Be sure that this is clear. Add to the blackboard sketch a line to represent the parallel of 41° .

And we do likewise . . . GRANT and agree, that . . . [the others] of the town of *Plimouth* . . . or elsewhere . . . shall be called the *second Colony*; And that they shall, and may begin their said Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said coast of *Virginia* and *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude. . . .

Is any land here granted to the "second Colony"? What is granted? Be sure that this is clear. Add to the blackboard

sketch a line to represent the parallel of 38° . The class will now be prepared to understand the further specifications of the charter. The provision for each of the two colonies was:

... They shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, [etc.] ... from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like *English* Miles, all amongst the said Coasts of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, [etc.] ... from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles.¹

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like *English* Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.²

Where was the first "Plantation" of the first colony? Block out on the blackboard its land grant. Where was the first "Plantation" of the second colony? Block out its land grant. Suppose the first colony had first settled in latitude 39° , could the second colony have settled in latitude 40° ? in latitude 38° ? Why? What does the textbook mean by the London and Plymouth Companies? The study may conclude with a comparison between the blackboard sketch and the map in the textbook or with the wall map. In either case glaring discrepancies are likely to appear, for there are few topics in colonial history that have been treated more carelessly than the boundary provisions of the charter of 1606.

¹ This is the description of the grant to the first colony. It is repeated with slight changes in phraseology for the second colony.

² Poore, Benjamin Perley, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws of the United States*, second edition, Washington, 1878, Part II, pp. 1888-1890.

With a senior class in the high school the material may be placed in the hands of the pupils to be worked out without the guiding questions of the teacher.¹

¹ The materials for studies of this type in American history are abundant and easily secured. The most convenient collection is that of Edward M. Douglas in *Bulletin No. 817*, United States Geological Survey, Government Printing Office, 1932. This *Bulletin* can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., for fifty cents.

For studies of the same type in European history the best collection of materials is that of Sir Edward Hertslet, *Map of Europe by treaty showing the various political and territorial changes which have taken place since the general peace of 1814*, 4 volumes, London, 1875-1891. Likely to be found only in a large library. See also by Sir Edward Hertslet, *Map of Africa by treaty*, revised by others to end of 1908, 3 volumes, London, 1909.

Some material for boundary studies may be found in the standard source books.

TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY

FROM the point of view of American conditions, the most important aid in the teaching of history is the textbook. It is, indeed, more than an aid. In the majority of American schools it determines the facts to be taught and the manner of teaching them. A teacher called upon to instruct any grade above the third is almost certain to demand a textbook for use by the children. From this point on to the end of the high school course the study of history, in most of our schools, means at bottom the preparation of textbook lessons, and the teaching of history means at bottom the discussion of textbook lessons. In Europe the textbook is less important. Historical instruction in the elementary school is almost entirely oral, and even in the secondary school formal textbook lessons are comparatively rare.

Textbooks have sometimes shaped and sometimes followed the ideas of makers of history programs. In either aspect their history is so closely related to programs in history that the general character of the facts provided by textbooks can be read in the general character of the programs. All of the theories of history examined in earlier chapters of the present work have produced their crops of textbooks. Facts and arrangements of facts have, therefore, varied widely. The teacher in search of a textbook will naturally be guided, in the first instance, by the theory that seems to him most conclusive. Beyond this there is, however, a useful classification based upon the degree of fulness with which facts are treated. Three general types are distinguishable:

1. Books that aim to present a bare skeleton or framework of facts, sometimes little more than an outline or syllabus. They are called in Germany *Leitfaden* and in France *précis*.

2. Books that develop the outline into a fuller reading story, and yet frankly leave room for further development. They may conveniently be designated by the French term *manuels*.

3. Books that aim to be self-sufficient, to treat each topic so fully as to make it intelligible without further development. They may conveniently be designated by the French term *cours*.¹

When this classification was applied to American textbooks in 1915, it was found that relatively few of the writers seemed to be conscious of any such distinctions. Most of the American books were of the *manuel* type. In some cases, authors were aware that their treatment would need expounding by the teacher and supplementary reading by pupils; in more cases, brevity seemed to be regarded both by writers and by teachers as synonymous with simplicity.

Textbooks for the intermediate grades often did achieve both brevity and simplicity. But in such cases the writer usually felt relieved of any responsibility for a complete story, or even for a continuous story. Simplicity was secured by the elimination of topics that could not in brief space be treated concretely. The stories actually included were, for the most part, stories that could not be told at all without being told concretely. Such classics as the story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas and the story of George Washington and his hatchet were reasonably safe in the hands of any writer likely to obtain a hearing from publishers of books for children or in the hands of any teacher likely to be tolerated in the schoolroom.

The teaching of history in the upper grades presented conditions much more difficult to meet. Here the subject was usually American history, and tradition demanded of the textbook writer the whole story. Furthermore, tradition limited the size of the textbook. Not only must the whole story be told; it must be told in some four hundred odd pages. The usual mode of meeting the condition was to enlarge on topics that were inherently simple and interesting, and to simplify others by not saying much about them. A story like that of the Pilgrims and

¹ For the use of these terms in France, see *L'Enseignement Secondaire*, February 15, 1909, p. 63.

the settlement of Plymouth might thus occupy three or four pages, and might even descend to details. A story like that of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony might be reduced to a short paragraph of generalities. The net result was a book only in part intelligible.

In a grammar school book by a competent and distinguished historian, New England was introduced as follows:

The Puritans.—The New England colonies were founded by English Puritans who left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land. All Puritans were agreed in wishing for a freer government than they had in England under the Stuart kings and in state matters were really the Liberals of their time. In religious matters, however, they were not all of one mind. Some of them wished to make only a few changes in the Church. These were called Non-Conformists. Others wished to make so many changes in religion that they could not stay in the English State Church. These were called Separatists. The settlers of Plymouth were Separatists; the settlers of Boston and neighboring towns were Non-Conformists.

The pupils were thus prepared for the story of the Pilgrims to which the author devoted about three and one-half pages. His next topic was "The Founding of Massachusetts, 1629-1630." Of this he wrote:

Unlike the poor and humble Pilgrims were the founders of Massachusetts. They were men of wealth and social position, as, for instance, John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall. They left comfortable homes in England to found a Puritan state in America. They got a great tract of land extending from the Merrimac to the Charles, and westward across the continent. Hundreds of colonists came over in the years 1629-1630. They settled Boston, Salem, and neighboring towns. In the next ten years thousands more joined them. From the beginning Massachusetts was strong and prosperous. Among so many people there were some who did not get on happily with the rulers of the colony.

The words were simple. Children even in a sixth grade could read them and give them back in the class recitation. The routine teacher, content to rest the matter there, received the impression that the book was admirable, and perhaps wrote a testimonial for the publishers. The teacher accustomed "thoroughly to expound the text" found it a convenient summary. Teachers of

the latter type were, however, in the minority. Routine results were those most in evidence. Thoughtful observers, perceiving these, asked if the children saw or felt anything except words. Did they see any Puritans? Did they see anything that the Puritans might change or any reason for changing it? Did they see anything that happened in America? What were Stuart kings and liberals in state matters to those who had never heard of either before? What were comfortable homes, wealth, and social position? One thing to children in the crowded tenements of lower New York, another thing to children in luxurious New York apartments, and still another to children at the crossroads where "comfortable board and lodging" might be had for eight dollars per month. But what did the words actually tell about the circumstances of the Puritans? What was gained in the narrative by naming John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall when nothing further was said about either of them? Was it a distinguishing characteristic of Puritans that they "left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land"? or that "in religious matters they were not all of one mind"? or that "among so many people there were some who did not get on happily with the rulers of the colony"? Did these statements, individually or collectively, differentiate the Puritans from people who were leaving the United States in 1915 because they could not do as they wished, who in religious matters were not all of the same mind, and who did not get on with the rulers?

In a grammar school book of the time by a well-known "popularizer" of American history we read:

The Puritans. — Bitter religious persecution prevailed in England at that time. Many thought the Church of England so corrupt that they withdrew from it. They were called Separatists or Independents, while those who aimed at reform within the church were called Puritans.

The story of the Pilgrims is then told in about four pages. This brings the author to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was formed of Puritans, some of them wealthy, and all of high character. They made a settlement in 1628 near Salem. Boston was founded two years later by Governor

Winthrop, and between the years 1630 and 1640 twenty thousand people settled in Massachusetts. The various colonies scattered throughout the province all seemed to be on the road to prosperity.

In a grammar school book by a superintendent of city schools who evidently felt the need of a little more background in the treatment of Puritans and Separatists, we read and wonder what grammar school children would make of the following paragraph:

Religious Awakening of the Sixteenth Century. — If the times are propitious, any reform, as it proceeds, gathers strength from causes without, as well as within, itself. Luther's protest in 1517 became a great religious awakening, and in time changed the established lines of religious thought. Its success was enhanced by the fact that an awakening was also in progress in educational, scientific, and all other lines of thought. In England the movement resulted in the establishment of the Church of England, whose ritual retained much of the formal method of worship used by the Catholic Church.

The old-fashioned general history for the high school was constructed under similar limitations. An author was allowed one hundred and fifty or two hundred more pages, but this expansion was scarcely proportionate to the expansion of the subject. With the same dread of leaving something out, there would of necessity be less chance in a general history than in a history of the United States of finding space for something to be put in. The introduction of the "block" system of the Committee of Seven relieved the condition in part and made a fuller treatment possible. Paragraphs were extended to pages, pages were extended to chapters. A feeling of responsibility for all the facts, however, made some books on ancient history and some books on medieval and modern history almost as summary in treatment as the older books on general history. There were still both writers and teachers who seemed to estimate the difficulty of a topic by the amount of reading matter apportioned to it, and who would, therefore, favor a summary treatment even if other conditions did not make it appear inevitable. An ancient history for the first year of the high school widely known in 1915 and highly commended by many teachers will sufficiently illustrate the consequences. Under the topic "Periods of Egyptian History," we read in this book:

During the time of the old empire the most important dynasty was the fourth, when the great pyramids and the sphinx were built at Gizeh, and the vast necropolis, or rock cemetery, was laid out at Sakkarah, near Memphis.

Five pages farther on we meet the topic "Egyptian Architecture and Monuments."

The religious spirit of the Egyptians was strongly impressed upon their architecture, which consisted mainly of tombs and temples. The buildings for the dead are seen in the rock-sepulchers cut in the sides of the hills which flanked the Nile — for example, the extensive necropolis at Sakkarah (near Memphis). Separate monumental tombs took the form of pyramids, and reached the most gigantic proportions at Gizeh. In these artificial mountains of stone rested the remains of kings.

There were American books approximating the *cours* type in which this topic was treated with greater precision than is suggested by such resounding phrases as, "vast necropolis," "gigantic proportions," and "artificial mountains of stone," but better examples of definiteness were offered by books for beginners in ancient history in French lycées. An extract from a French book follows.

The Egyptian kings took pride in building enormous monuments, especially temples for the gods and tombs for themselves. For three thousand years men went on building in Egypt tombs and temples. Many are still standing and excite the wonder of travelers.

The oldest and most celebrated of these monuments are three famous pyramids which are the tombs of three kings.

They stand in lower Egypt (some leagues from Cairo), upon a plateau which served as a cemetery, for it is everywhere strewn with monuments and little pyramids, each of which is a tomb.

These pyramids seem at first to be only enormous masses of stone, no opening is visible. They were once encased in blocks of polished stone, so smooth that they could not be scaled, and so well fitted together that a hair could not have been inserted between any two blocks. But when this covering was pierced a series of small chambers, united by narrow galleries, was disclosed. It was in one of these chambers that the king was buried. The coffin of one of the kings was found; the coffins of two other kings had disappeared, — the tombs had been violated. It was to avoid profanations of this kind that the builders had so carefully concealed the entrance to the vaults.

The fine polished stones which formed the covering of the pyramids have been torn away and the masonry has been exposed to view. The great pyramid has thus been reduced in height more than seven meters. It now measures not more than 137 meters instead of its former 144; it is still one of the highest monuments in the world.

Not far from the pyramids, an enormous head of stone lifts its form from the sand. It is the Sphinx, image of the god Harmakhis, who represented the rising sun. The rest of the body is to-day buried in the sand, but excavation has revealed its form. It is the body of a crouching lion cut in the rock. The monument is 19 meters high, that is, the height of a five-story building; the ear measures a meter.¹

A contrast drawn between the American and French passages which have just been quoted, followed by a suggestion that the United States lacked a book in ancient history really suitable for the first year of the high school, gave, it appears, the initial impulse to an American writer, who, after producing with something of the French precision a textbook in ancient history, was encouraged to further ventures, and is now among the most widely known of American authors of textbooks in history.

The *manuel* type of textbook led to so much meaningless learning and reciting that it must accept a large share of responsibility for the attacks on history which had been growing in violence for some years before the inauguration of the social studies movement. That movement, with its emphasis upon present realities which could scarcely be treated at all without being treated somewhat fully, gave added impetus to textbooks of the *cours* type, some examples of which had already appeared. Since then many changes have come over the spirit of American textbook writers. There are today many textbooks of the *cours* type. There is greater emphasis upon the history of civilization. The selection of facts is more consciously influenced by present tastes, interests, and problems. There is clearer recognition, somewhat reminiscent of the eighteen-thirties, of what history should do for the promotion of intelligent and active citizenship. Greater skill in presentation has raised the general level of textbooks as teaching apparatus. The leading textbooks in history

¹ Seignobos, Ch., *Histoire Narrative et Descriptive de l'Antiquité . . . cinquième édition*, Paris, 1907, pp. 16-17.

for the senior high school are still the works of competent historical scholars and, in spite of some new concessions to reigning educational theories unfriendly to history, deserve their titles. But below the senior high school, textbooks published since 1915, excluding a few brilliant exceptions, have lowered the general level of historical scholarship and, in this respect, compare unfavorably even with books published between 1890 and 1900. Of the history that figures in textbook combinations of the social studies by authors without special training in any of the social sciences, not much is to be expected, but some of the errors of fact, misinterpretations, and misapplications with which they promote their pedagogical gospel seem almost inexcusable. It is at best and of necessity a very superficial history. Of textbooks in history for which trained scholars are responsible in whole or in part, more might reasonably be expected. But below the senior high school something in the general educational atmosphere seems at times to make even scholars careless of their facts. Blunders by the score can be gathered from elementary books by reputable historians who would be shocked by palpable blunders in more serious historical works. There are, indeed, scholars who seem to regard accuracy as of minor importance in the writing of textbooks. So long as the general picture is fairly correct, errors in small facts are, they say, of no consequence. American textbooks in history for young children have rarely been distinguished for accuracy, but there are specimens published since 1930 which are more offensively inaccurate than similar books published before 1900.

The fundamental question which confronts a textbook writer is how to make a book that will sell. A distinguished and prolific contributor to this species of literature remarked in conversation that ninety per cent of textbook writers write for money and that the other ten per cent write chiefly for money. Even idealists know that sales are essential to the promulgation of their ideals. One way to make a book sell is to make it really intelligible to the pupils for whom it is intended, and in this art writers have in recent years been steadily growing wiser. But many teachers still complain that textbooks in history and the other social

studies are too difficult, in large part unintelligible to pupils, and in places unintelligible even to teachers. Some of these complaints may be mere cases of poor workmen finding fault with their tools. But tools *may* be imperfect and the fault *may* lie with toolmakers. It is often said that no book can be "fool-proof," and what Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes called "the idiotic area" and what a wise schoolmaster of the last generation called "the fool spot" is, in most of us, large enough to lend color to the saying. But many of the "howlers" so frequent in social studies tests are in their way legitimate inferences from textbooks. Was the seventh grade girl who came home from a history lesson reporting that "General Arnold cut off both of General Burgoyne's legs" exercising her fool spot or was the fool spot in the textbook which had informed her that "General Arnold cut off General Burgoyne's supporting columns"? A textbook which fully explains itself to the pupils for whom it is intended has, it may safely be asserted, not yet been written and may never be written. But many critics have pointed the way to improvement. The findings are included in Ernest Horn's keen and extended analysis of methods and results in the teaching of the social studies, with suggestions that deserve to be pondered by every textbook writer and every teacher in the field.¹

A test of definiteness and concreteness is, under American conditions, usually the first step to be taken in the examination of a textbook, for it determines in general the answer to the question: "Does the book lend itself to lesson-getting?" But there are other important questions. Is the book accurate? What is its special point of view? What is the character of the pictures, maps, and other aids to visualization? Are the references for collateral reading suitable? Are the questions, outlines, digests, and other pedagogical aids, if it contains any, helpful? Is there a good table of contents? Is there a full index? Does it offer a good model of English? Is it interesting?

The initial test of accuracy is the author. Who is he and what

¹ *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies, Part XV, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, 1937.* See especially Chapter IV, The Problem of Meaning in the Social Studies; Chapter V, Reading in Relation to Learning in the Social Studies; and Chapter VI. The Textbook and Collateral Reading.

has he written besides textbooks? Before 1900 almost any American who could write at all might write a textbook on almost any subject. A single author might, without apology to the proprieties, place to his credit textbooks in half a dozen different fields and then, perhaps, round out his career by compiling a dictionary. After the *Report* of the Committee of Seven, scholarship asserted itself against this kind of freedom, with consequences which have been indicated in an earlier chapter. Of conditions since 1915, something has been said in the present chapter. It now appears again entirely proper for authors to prepare textbooks in as many different fields as time may permit, or inclination suggest, and to find publishers if they can.

The career of an author will raise certain presumptions. A higher degree of accuracy will on principle be expected from a professional student of history than from a professional student of general education or from an amateur in general literature. But in no case is the career of the author a conclusive test of accuracy. Professional students of history are usually specialists. They have their period or their subject. When they assume responsibility for the larger field of a textbook their special training should still carry weight. But it was a distinguished historian out of his field who, in the first edition of a well-known textbook in American history, transposed the political platforms of the Davis and Douglas democrats of 1860. It was another distinguished historian out of his field who, in another well-known textbook in American history, confused the famous Reconstruction Act of 1867 with quite a different measure. An author with only textbook knowledge of history may, on the other hand, stumble upon good models and use them with reasonable accuracy. He may by careful study of a single textbook which happens to be highly accurate produce a version of it almost as accurate as the original itself. A successful textbook is sure to inspire imitation, amounting at times to brazen piracy, and pirates may steal what is highly accurate. One historical scholar whose textbooks were eminently successful used to say that his chief ambition in life was "to keep one jump ahead" of a particularly efficient borrower of his materials. The accuracy of a

textbook is of course to be judged by its contents and not by the ethics of its production, but the career of the author is likely in any case to raise presumptions that will promote quick sampling of a book by directing attention to special things to sample. In the multitude of conflicting "causes" now seeking through a multitude of organizations to shape "facts" in history and in the other social studies, accuracy has been growing increasingly difficult to achieve, and when achieved, may be highly offensive to widely influential "pressure groups." But accuracy in the presentation of historical facts may to-day with reason be regarded as of greater importance than ever before in the whole history of school instruction in history.

For teachers without training in the historical method of establishing facts, some hints of how to test accuracy have already been given. More will follow in a later chapter.

An author's point of view is sometimes set forth clearly in his preface or introduction and sometimes left to be inferred from the kinds of facts selected, from the manner in which the facts are interpreted, and from the distribution of emphasis. Textbooks produced in different countries differ so widely in point of view that comparisons between them may yield startling illustrations of the subjectivity of history. Taking the United States alone, we get perceptibly different pictures of some conditions and events in passing from a textbook written in New England to a textbook written in the middle states, or in the South, or in the West. On some issues, sectional points of view may involve fundamental differences. Late in the nineteenth century, conflicts between the "Civil War" in northern textbooks and the "War between the States" in southern textbooks led representatives of the G. A. R. and representatives of the Confederate Veterans to unite in a proposal for a sort of compromise history of the war. Some differences in point of view may be inspired by things peculiar to individual states and may lead one state to accept as fact what another state rejects. A treatment of Roger Williams in accord with the Massachusetts tradition may be objectionable in Rhode Island. A treatment of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in accord with the North Carolina

tradition may be objectionable in Virginia. Such differences are likely to be brought into sharper relief by the community approach to history or by any special emphasis upon local and state history. Just before the World War the community approach, local history, and state history seemed to be leading into a logic that could scarcely stop short of individual state histories of the United States and individual state histories of the world in general. Our entrance into the War reminded us that we were, or ought to be, a nation and checked the logic of particularism. But publishers have at various times made provision for special state editions of their standard textbooks.

The point of view from which a textbook may be written admits of many other variations. There are, in fact, as many different points of view as there are kinds of literature called "history," kinds of propaganda, and kinds of education. An author's general point of view may be determined by some program of indoctrination established by statute or official decree, or by public opinion or suggested by the author's personal convictions. It may be determined by what an author believes to be at bottom the explanation of human history, ranging from the influence of physical environment or an economic interpretation to God's purpose in the world. Textbooks by historical scholars may aim to tell the plain truth, so far as the truth appears to be suitable for schools, whether agreeable or disagreeable to special social organizations or to political or religious or educational traditions. But the perils of this point of view were fully exposed by the textbook agitation which broke out in the United States soon after the World War and spread over a large part of the country. There are, however, perils in other points of view. In this connection, every teacher of history should read *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*, by Bessie L. Pierce.¹

An author's point of view may at times be elusive, but always some indication will be furnished by the general proportions of his book. Is it an ancient history? How much space is devoted to the Peloponnesian War? to the post-Alexandrian period? to literature and art? to social conditions? Does the author enlarge

¹ New York, 1926.

on the period of the Roman Republic or on the period of the Empire? Pages alone, of course, do not necessarily indicate the relative importance attached to topics. From a study of the fame of Euripides as compared with the fame of Sophocles, it appears that Euripides gets the greater space in histories, but Sophocles gets the adjectives and is therefore adjudged the more famous.¹ A textbook writer may show his emphasis by his adjectives. Pages are nonetheless a rough test. A teacher desiring to enlarge on the last hundred years will scarcely select a textbook which devotes five-sixths of its space to the period before the French Revolution.

Of the pictures, maps, and other visual aids offered by a textbook, the teacher may ask: Are they clearly printed? Are they scaled to easy vision? Are they definitely related to the text? What principles or preferences determined their selection? Does the author indicate the sources of the pictures and maps? Do the labels attached to pictures invite attention to differences in authenticity? Is there some comment on incorrect details? If there are symbolic pictures, is the symbolism really illuminating? Tested by such questions, many textbooks published during the last twenty-five years will be found deserving of high commendation. But doubtful and even purely fictitious portraits, and "scenes" quite out of harmony with facts, are still often admitted with nothing to indicate their character. Maps are still at times bad. Some of them are made confusing by too much detail; some of them are conducive to eye strain; some of them are inaccurate. Many maps, not only in textbooks but in larger histories and even in special works on historical geography, are definite where the sources upon which they must ultimately rest are indefinite or silent. Lines showing exact boundaries, lines showing exact routes of travel, dots showing exact location, and even names are often mere guesses, and to represent them as certainties is, to speak with moderation, not quite legitimate. What some maps need more than anything else is a liberal sprinkling of question marks or some other kind of marking to show where the guesses are.

¹ Woods, F. A., *Historiometry*, Reprint from *Science*, April 14, 1911, p. 6.

American textbooks, almost without exception, now contain references for collateral reading. The teacher will naturally examine their general character and arrangement. Are the references general or specific? Do they indicate merely titles of books, or do they refer to chapters or pages? Are they classified? Is the pupil made conscious of the kind of material to which he is referred? Are there references to other textbooks? What place is assigned to historical fiction and poetry? Are the works mentioned likely to be in an average library? Above all, are the readings intelligible to the pupils for whom the textbook is intended? Much effort, most of it vain, has been expended upon the "grade placement" of historical works as *wholes*. Yet the textbook itself varies in difficulty with the nature of the topics presented and the manner of presentation. Variations of the same kind are found in larger works. There are passages in the great masterpieces of historical literature which children as early as the sixth grade can read and understand. A really discriminating list of readings for schools may, therefore, without apology include many references to standard works which "grade placement" has relegated to the university. This has to some extent been recognized in compilations of readings designed to accompany textbooks. More attention to the problem of grading, more analysis of the kind so ably applied by Dr. Horn,¹ might bring many changes in the present conventional lists of references for collateral reading.

Tables of contents in textbooks are usually confined to titles of chapters but are sometimes supplemented by outlines, perspectives, or "overviews" which, in two or three pages or less, exhibit the field as a whole. A good analytical table of contents with page references may be regarded as desirable. But usually the whole burden of showing where things are in the book is put upon the index. An index may impose much turning of pages to find what is wanted. A good analytical index is a saver both of time and of patience. "Bryan, W. J., 468 ff., 495, 502, 503, 527" is obviously less convenient than "Bryan, William J.,

¹ Horn, Ernest, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*, New York, 1937, pp. 151-205

nominated for President, notice of, 887, 888; defeated a second time by McKinley, 897," etc. An index of any kind should aim at fullness, but what this involves is often a puzzling question.

The pedagogical aids in recent textbooks provide a wider variety of exercises than the older books. Some old types of exercises are glorified by listing them as "activities," but the activities idea has also produced much that is new. The grading is still at times somewhat peculiar. A high school book may have questions and suggestions that savor of procedure in primary grades. An elementary school book may have questions and suggestions that might puzzle a graduate student of history. How, for example, would the reader classify the following model of procedure:

1. Question: What does the first line of this paragraph do? Answer: It asks a question.
2. What is the question? Answer: Was Washington a great general?

Appraisals of pedagogical aids will vary with the individual needs of teachers. Aids highly useful to one kind of teacher may be worse than useless to another kind of teacher. Pedagogical aids seem in general to be designed for untrained teachers with little or no experience. In any event, their persistence in textbooks must be accepted as evidence of wide utility.

Is a textbook interesting? The initial test will be its appeal to the teacher. If a textbook is highly interesting to the teacher, it has a chance of being at least mildly interesting to pupils; if it seems very dull to the teacher, it is almost certain to seem even duller to pupils. Always the last word on the question belongs to the pupils, and their last word is often devastating. In the United States the things now demanded of history in education are in large part things difficult for any writer to make interesting. Things which often made earlier textbooks interesting — anecdotes, strange adventures, exciting details of battles, famous sayings of famous men and women, white or black judgments that left heroes without faults and villains without virtues and only slightly marred by the author's moralizing — are now either reduced to dull brevity or excluded altogether,

partly because they are no longer believed to be true, but chiefly because they are without significance in relation to the social and economic conditions of which every historical textbook must now take account. The change began about 1890 with textbooks which almost started a tradition that a textbook in history to be eminently respectable in the eyes of scholars must also be eminently dull. There are still textbooks which exhibit not only the dull side of scholarship but also the dull side of pedagogy, and it is doubtful if the subject matter which is now deemed essential can ever be made as interesting as the subject matter which it has displaced. This does not mean that textbooks have ceased to be interesting. A continuous line of textbooks written since 1900 could be cited to the contrary. It is, therefore, still reasonable to expect a textbook to be interesting and to ask what it is that now makes a textbook interesting. Is it literary style? There are living authors who can impart literary charm even to a textbook. Does the interest spring from the author's choice of material? from picturesque details? from personal opinions freely and frankly expressed? from an abundance of spicy quotations? from shock-producing generalizations? from much speculation on what might have happened if something else had not happened? There are living authors who find even old anecdotes consistent with a social and economic treatment of history. Some present ways of arousing the interest of pupils may be considered objectionable, but that a textbook can and should be interesting is beyond dispute.

CHAPTER XIII

THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY AND OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES

THE learning and reciting of textbook lessons in history and other social studies has been called in Europe the "American method of teaching." Textbooks in these fields are as common and of as many varieties in Europe as in the United States, and have from the beginning had a place in school instruction. The facts which they contain are perhaps more thoroughly learned in Europe than in the United States. But formal textbook lessons are usually neither assigned nor recited. The instruction, regardless of the nature of the textbook, is in general oral. In the lower classes the teacher talks and questions. The pupils, as soon as they are able, take notes. The general method employed is sometimes the developmental and sometimes the purely informative. In the first case the teacher supplies fundamental data and then, by a course of questioning, leads the pupils to make comparisons with other known data, to draw inferences, and to build up such new facts as the data may warrant. The lesson is coöperative. This method has been applied most conspicuously in Germany. In the second case the teacher does practically all of the building, and the aim of the questioning is, in the main, to make sure that the pupils are following and understanding the facts. This method has been applied most conspicuously in France. In either case pupils understand in a general way that the textbook is useful as an aid in keeping their bearings, and that their textbook readings are to follow class discussions. Here and there the textbook plays a more prominent part. Here and there lessons are definitely assigned and recited. But the practice is viewed with disfavor by the majority of European teachers. In Belgium it has been pronounced the worst of pedagogical heresies.¹ Even the French, who have carried

¹ *Ministère de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique*, 1905, p. 16.

the principle of making the textbook self-explanatory farther than any other people, maintain in general the tradition of oral instruction.

In the upper classes the European teacher talks more and questions less. Sometimes he talks and does not question at all. This is true at times even in the lower classes. Oral instruction thus reverts to its ancestral type, the lecture system, at one time widely prevalent in all grades of instruction. In France, for example, before the adoption of the program of 1902, it was rare, above the lowest lycée classes, to hear a pupil's voice in the classroom. The teacher talked during the entire class period; the pupils took notes and afterward read the textbook. School regulations in Europe now often forbid formal lecturing and direct the teachers to question their classes. In England and the United States there are, however, writers who make no distinction between the lecture method and oral instruction.

The European method of oral instruction, with whatever may be left of the lecture system, makes the place of the textbook entirely clear. The textbook is not the starting point. If of the *précis* type, it is merely a summary of facts after they have been more fully presented or developed by the teacher. If of the *cours* type, it may be an elaboration of facts already presented or developed by the teacher. When later the pupil is questioned in class, he is questioned, as a rule, on the facts and not on the textbook. The teacher teaches; the textbook summarizes or elaborates, refreshes the memory, fixes names and dates, and in general helps the pupil to keep his bearings.

In the old-fashioned teaching of history, as known in American tradition, the place of the textbook was equally clear. The duty of the teacher began with the assignment of a certain number of paragraphs or pages and ended with the "hearing" of the lesson. "After the battle the king went — John, you may go on." After John had gone on for some minutes he was relieved by "next," who in his turn was relieved by "next," and so on to the end of the lesson. The ideal was to reproduce the exact words of the textbook, and it was at first mainly as a concession to weaklings that the pupil was allowed to sum up in his own words the sub-

stance. The concession was, however, made and in time proved fatal to the system. First came the discovery that the pupil who could gather up the facts of the textbook and set them forth in his own words deserved more credit than his competitor of facile verbal memory, and then the discovery that questions, at first also regarded in part as a concession to weaklings, might stimulate useful comparisons and inferences. The memoriter system did not entirely pass away. It is even yet neither wholly extinct nor wholly without respectable defenders. Among its beneficiaries are some now in the evening of life and some just out of college who are ready to testify that the history which has remained with them, the history which they have drawn upon when they have thought of history at all, has been the history in the textbook committed to memory in some fitting school and not the history which they afterward studied in college. Such results are not altogether bad and, to the extent that they have ceased to be attained under other systems, one can sympathize with those sturdy opponents of change who saw in each new step a lowering of the standards of instruction. The worst that can be said of the memoriter system is in some respects not worse than the worst that can be said of some other systems. If in the one case the pupil learns "nothing but facts," except that incidentally he learns also very often to hate history, in other cases he may learn not even "facts" and still learn incidentally to hate history. But changes were inevitable, partly because with the spread of historical instruction the number of weaklings unable to memorize increased alarmingly, and partly because the judicious, as soon as they began to ask the meaning of study, saw in the operation of the old system no necessary analysis of the textbook, no opportunity for exercises in the selection and organization of material, and, often, no need of even understanding the book.

The use of textbooks as material for something more than memorizing has been considerably influenced by general conceptions of method in teaching. The nineteenth century was prolific in formulas and recipes. Among formulas, its outstanding contribution was the Herbartian formula of the five formal steps:

(1) Preparation, (2) Presentation, (3) Comparison, (4) Generalization, (5) Application. This formula was brought to the United States in the late eighties by Americans who had studied in Germany. It was adopted in many American normal schools as the standard procedure in practice teaching and was carried by normal school graduates into hundreds of elementary schools. Charles A. McMurry and his brother, Frank M. McMurry, devoted a volume, *The Method of the Recitation*, to an exposition of the principles behind the formal steps and to illustrative lessons showing how to apply the principles. Through this volume, published in 1897, the formula gained the favor of many school superintendents. Textbooks in history, as the authors pointed out, supplied material only for the fourth step. Material for the other steps must, therefore, be supplied by the teacher. Textbook material, moreover, left much to be desired in the way of lesson units. "The subject-matter of each study," said the authors, "viewed from the standpoint of the formal steps, should consist of large lesson units or groupings of facts, in each of which groups some single idea dominates." Further application of the unit idea was made in their emphasis upon types.¹ Textbook writers soon took the hint and began to provide for larger lesson units by a topical treatment.

The formal steps indicated a natural order which good teachers were already unconsciously following. The emphasis upon the use of pupil experience was thoroughly sound. The large responsibility placed upon teachers encouraged oral instruction and made teachers less dependent upon textbooks. The fundamental objection was that unceasing logical uniformity and conformity made lessons mechanical even in the skilled hands of Charles and Frank McMurry.²

After the formal steps, came in successive waves in the United States the problem method, the socialized recitation, and the project method, and then a return to formula in the five steps of the Morrison plan: (1) Exploration, (2) Presentation, (3) As-

¹ McMurry, Charles A., and McMurry, Frank M., *The Method of the Recitation*, Bloomington, Illinois, 1897, pp. 261-279, 286. Revised edition, New York, 1903, but paging differs.

² See, for example, their lesson in history, *ibid.*, pp. 245-255.

similation, (4) Organization, (5) Recitation. This plan, like the McMurry plan, emphasized the unit idea and has been a profound influence in shaping textbooks and teaching procedure in the social studies.¹ A somewhat similar formula for five steps had been worked out several years earlier in Germany by Hugo Gaudig, a teacher in Leipzig. Gaudig's plan aroused among its supporters an enthusiasm comparable to that which greeted the Morrison plan, but adverse critics saw in it only a refinement of the five formal steps of the Herbartians.² The Morrison plan, on the whole, invites more strongly than the Gaudig plan comparison with the Herbartian formula.

The Morrison plan encourages oral instruction and allows for a good deal of study in class. Other plans, among them the "laboratory method," have carried the principle of study in class so far as practically to eliminate any formal recitation. As long ago as 1928, a book appeared bearing the title, *The Passing of the Recitation*,³ but later reports from the field seem to indicate that this announcement was somewhat premature.

There were teachers twenty-five years ago who regarded textbooks in the field of the social sciences as of minor importance. There are more such teachers now. There were teachers twenty-five years ago who ignored textbooks altogether and based their work upon general and special encyclopedias, extended special treatises, "real" histories, periodicals, and newspapers. There are more such teachers now. There were teachers twenty-five years ago who took their cues entirely from periodicals and newspapers. There are more such teachers now. But recent reports from the field indicate that textbook lessons are still the rule in American schools, as much the rule in schools with

¹ Henry C. Morrison, *The Practice of Teaching in Secondary Schools*, Chicago, 1926.

² Gaudig died in 1923, but publication of his works continued after his death. See especially *Freie Geistige Schularbeit in Theorie und Praxis*, Breslau, 1924, viii, 291 pp. Gaudig and others here explain the principles and apply them to the various school studies. The Gaudig plan seems to have died with the German Republic. For an outline of the Gaudig five steps and a brief criticism, see *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925, pp. 518-519.

³ Thayer, V. T., *The Passing of the Recitation*, Boston, 1928, viii, 331 pp.

programs called "Social Studies" as in schools with programs called "History." How to use a textbook, whether in history or civics or geography or economics or sociology or social problems or the social studies in general or equivalents of any of these subjects under other names, is, therefore, to most American teachers still a fundamental problem, and to many of them, there is still reason to fear, the whole problem of class instruction.

The use to be made of a textbook depends, first of all, upon the kind of textbook. Is it of the *précis* type? Then surely no teacher ought to think of assigning lessons in advance and of spending the time in class in having the lessons recited. If such a book is to be studied at all, each new lesson should either be worked over by the teacher at the time of making the assignment or be filled out by required readings in other books. Below the seventh grade the ability of the pupil to comprehend is so far in advance of his ability to read that the necessary details are most economically and most effectively supplied by the teacher. The textbook may be read with the class and treated as a guiding thread in the unfolding of a fuller story, or it may be brought in only at the close of the story, and treated as a summary. In either case the pupil's own study of the textbook should follow, and not precede, the fuller story. After the story has been developed, after the children have repeated it, after they know what it is all about, they may be sent to the textbook, as in Europe, to find out where they are in the general scheme of things, to fix names and dates, to see how one topic is related to another, and to obtain further hints of what they ought to remember. Beginning with the seventh grade, required readings outside of the text may to an ever increasing extent be substituted for contributions by the teacher, and the pupil may be left, more and more, to his own devices in passing from the textbook outline to the fuller account and back again to the textbook. "The Puritans left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land." This tells the pupil practically nothing. It does perhaps suggest that he ought to know what it was the Puritans wished to do in the home land and could not do. In any event, after he has found out what they wished to do, the statement tells him so much

that it may be worth remembering. The textbook as a whole may on this principle be worth remembering. But the textbook is not the lesson. It is only a guide to a larger fund of knowledge and a summary of such knowledge after it has been acquired.

The bare summary type of textbook, taken for what it is, has certain advantages. In the lower grades the supplementary oral instruction needed to make the book intelligible may raise the level of the history course. One reason why American estimates of the ability of children to cope with history are lower than similar European estimates is the American habit of translating history so largely into the reading vocabulary of children. In the upper grades, and in the high school, the summary leaves more time for collateral reading than a fuller textbook. There are teachers who turn these advantages to excellent account and who would feel themselves hampered by a fuller textbook treatment. But there are others to whom a textbook is a textbook and a class recitation a recitation of the textbook. The pupil who remembers that "the Puritans left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land" is, in many a schoolroom, commended and pressed no further. The history lesson thus degenerates into an exercise in mere words. Teachers in the lower grades of the elementary school, without training in the art of oral instruction and without some special knowledge of history, and teachers in the upper grades or in the high school, without a good school library, will be on safer ground if they avoid the bare summary type and seek on principle a fuller treatment.

With a book of the *cours* type, a book, that is, which is definite in statement and reasonably complete in necessary details, a book which pupils can really understand, there is at least a partial justification for assigning mere textbook lessons and for spending the time in class having them recited and applied. Much depends upon the manner of learning the lessons and the manner of reciting them. In some schools lessons in history are taken as seriously and studied as intelligently before coming to class as lessons in Latin or in mathematics. In other schools the assignment is little more than a fiction. The pupils have trained

the teacher to do most of the reciting. In still other schools the schedule allows little or no time for outside preparation. The teacher has the class for the class period to do what can be done. Some teachers approve of this plan, either because their experience in trying to persuade pupils to study a history lesson has been unhappy, or because they believe that better results can be secured under the teacher's immediate direction than through independent study. The character of the class recitation must, it is clear, vary with the character of the preparation.

The first step in the use of a textbook in any of the social sciences is to use the book for two or three class periods as material for reading. Have one pupil read aloud the opening paragraph while the others listen with books closed. Ask the class what the reading was about. Have another pupil read aloud the next paragraph, the class following with books open. Ask the class what the reading was about. Use the next paragraph for silent reading by the whole class. When the silent reading is completed, ask the class what the paragraph was about. Continue such exercises until the book has been fairly sampled. If little or no result is obtained from a single reading, repeat the reading and note carefully the changing character of the summaries given by the pupils. One senior class in a high school of national reputation, after two readings aloud by individual pupils, the class following with books open, and two silent readings, failed to give a satisfactory summary of a relatively simple paragraph in a standard high school textbook in American history. "We don't do our history that way," impatiently exclaimed one pupil. "Ask us some questions," demanded another. In the end the teacher had to ask questions, had, that is, to assist the class in analyzing the paragraph. Would any teacher, after such an experience, be likely to go on with page assignments in the textbook and leave the pupils without further directions to do the rest?

The condition may be met in one of two ways: (1) by indicating definitely what the pupil is to look for, or (2) by teaching him to read the textbook so intelligently that he may himself find what he ought to look for. The former is by far the simpler procedure

and is the one commonly followed by teachers alive to the needs of pupils.

Textbooks themselves often provide guidance questions. A book for the elementary school, for example, at the end of a chapter on "French Pioneers" has the following questions:

The Fisheries and the French.

1. What brought French sailors to the New World?
2. Why were there so few Englishmen at first on the Newfoundland banks?
3. What did the king of France think of Spanish and Portuguese claims to all new lands?

In addition to such questions, textbooks often contain "suggestive questions and directions." The book quoted above has the following on the Newfoundland fisheries:

Where are the banks of Newfoundland? What fish are caught there? Why should fish be so abundant there? How extensive are the banks? From what countries do fishermen go there? Who own these banks? Do fish in the ocean belong to any person or country in particular? Do fish in harbors, rivers, brooks, and inland waters belong to people in such a way as to make it wrong for other people to catch them? Have the banks of Newfoundland had anything to do with history? If so, tell in what way. Find on some map the places from which the fishermen mentioned in the text used to come to the banks.

With aids of this character and the further aids supplied by paragraph headings and marginal topics, a pupil may reasonably be expected to make some progress, if his attention is called to such aids and if he is definitely instructed to use them in preparing his lesson. If the questions are not considered suitable, others may be substituted by the teacher. In either case the questions may constitute the substance of the lesson assignment.

An aid of a somewhat different character is supplied by the ready-made outline, which, like questions, may be provided either by the textbook or by the teacher. Outlines are of two general kinds: (1) those that convey information, and (2) those that merely suggest what the pupil is to look for. Both are analytical, both are designed to show what is most significant and to furnish a convenient exhibit of relations. An information outline may introduce the American Revolution as follows:

I. Conflicting views of the British Constitution.**A. The colonial view.**

1. Union through the crown.
2. Representation in colonial legislatures.

B. The British view.

1. Union through parliament.
2. Parliament supreme throughout the British Empire.

A guidance outline may introduce the same subject as follows:

I. Nature of the British Constitution.

1. The colonial view.
2. The British view.

II. Changes in British policy.

1. The British debt.
2. The trade acts.
3. The army.

A ready-made outline of the information type that sums up clearly the essentials of a history course may with profit be thoroughly memorized. According to a committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, such an outline not only may but must be memorized. It "must be the Alpha and Omega of every new topic; it must be indelibly engraved upon the mind of the student, must be written and rewritten, said backwards and forwards. . . . Around this core is built up the student's knowledge. About it he groups what he remembers of books, sources, and classroom talk."¹ A guidance outline scarcely invites this kind of memorizing.

Lessons based upon a ready-made outline are naturally assigned in terms of the outline. The topics are named, or their numbers, and the pupils understand that they are to fill in from their textbook. In this way provision is easily made for the omission of any topics in the textbook not considered essential, and for collateral reading. The pupil knows what to look for, knows where he is while he is looking for it, and knows its relation to the general scheme. The class recitation is also in terms of the outline. It can be carried on either by announcing topics from the outline or by asking questions based upon the outline.

¹ New England History Teachers' Association, *Publication Number 1*, Boston, p. 14.

Some critics of textbook lessons seem inclined to exclude any formal analysis and recitation of the text, or even of collateral reading, and to confine attention to the solution of problems. "Read the next ten pages in the text; also one of the following references. . . . Bring in a map, drawn by yourself, showing the location of the two armies at this time." To this form of lesson assignment there are, it has been urged, three very serious objections. In the first place, the textbook is not "suitable to all without an analysis of individual cases. It has been used to a very large extent just in this way. But it consists of a logical arrangement of subject matter, excellent for reading reference but not necessarily suited either to individual students or to individual lesson units." In the second place, the effect upon the teacher is demoralizing. "Real teaching rapidly deteriorates under such conditions. If there is one influence tending to make teaching mechanical and empty, it is found in the assignment given as a mere task rather than for the purpose of working out an important problem." In the third place, the influence upon the attitude of the pupil is unwholesome. The pupil "too frequently feels that such an assignment is only an arbitrary task in the daily grind of school work. Why should the facts related in these ten pages be learned? . . . With such questions in mind, how small the inspiration to study vigorously!"

How, then, should a lesson be assigned? According to the critic who has just been quoted, the ground should first be broken by "real class study." This accomplished, the pupil should be sent away to solve some definite problem and not to cover a certain number of pages. Taking the Albany Congress as an example, the following is, after preliminary class study of the topic, suggested as a proper assignment:

1. Find further evidence that the colonists were in need of a closer union.
2. Arrange this evidence in the form of a convincing argument.
3. Support the text by at least one good illustration of efforts to secure a closer union in some phase of present life.
4. Read pages 112-116 and 120-126 in the text for information as to the attitude of the colonists immediately following the Albany Con-

gress. (This is in anticipation of "class study" at the next meeting of the class.)¹

What is here proposed is still at bottom to assist the pupil in finding his way through the textbook. The "logical arrangement of subject matter" found in the textbook is "not necessarily suited either to individual students or to individual lesson units." This is the underlying assumption. The position taken is, however, supported by two other assumptions: (1) that "a mere task" in school is reprehensible, and (2) that "an arbitrary task in the daily grind" is converted into something to which that stigma does not attach by the simple expedient of telling the pupil somewhat definitely what he is to look for and to think about.

Whether a textbook is "excellent for reference reading," or for anything else, depends, as has already been pointed out, upon the kind of textbook. Textbooks themselves cannot be put into one generic class and judged "without an analysis of individual cases." It is at best somewhat hazardous to place a form of assignment under the ban because it seems to impose a task. Even granting, for the moment, that a "mere task" is indefensible, has the task idea been altogether eliminated by the problems suggested? May not the pupil, with reason, still ask to have the ways of the teacher justified? Why should further evidence be found that "the colonists were in need of a closer union"? Of what consequence to the pupil is it to "arrange this evidence in the form of a convincing argument"? Why should he "read pages 112-116 and 120-126 in the text for information as to the attitude of the colonists immediately following the Albany Congress"? Are not pupils sensitive to "tasks" likely to detect them even in such problems?

Questions, outlines, and problems have in common the merit of giving the pupil something definite to look for and to think about in the preparation of the history lesson. Many teachers would here include "workbooks," a species which began to develop in the eighteenth century in Europe as books made by pupils under the direction of teachers, and which, in the nine-

¹ *School Review*, Vol. 18, pp. 627-633.

teenth century, grew into published outlines to be filled in by pupils. In the United States workbooks have become a commonplace. Many have been designed to accompany special textbooks; many have been of a more general character. They may still, with some exceptions,¹ be described as essentially outlines to be filled in by pupils. They give pupils definite things to do, including considerable drill on facts in the form of objective tests. There is some inducement to reading outside of textbooks. There are projects and various kinds of activities. There are maps to draw or to fill in, pictures to analyze, and thought questions to answer. There is much dreary and useless copying. There is also much saving of copying. The general objection to workbooks of the usual type is that they mechanize assignments to a degree that leaves little demand for independent planning on the part of the teacher. Their wide use in American schools may be taken as proof that they are useful, and also, perhaps, as a commentary on the equipment of American teachers.

The learning of lessons has often been simplified for American pupils by supervised study of a kind which proved that the more a pupil is assisted, the better will be his understanding of a lesson. This principle has been widely applied in the teaching of history in French lycées in a way that may be of interest to some American teachers.

The professor introduces a new topic by dictating a brief summary which the pupils enter verbatim in their notebooks. The summary indicates clearly and definitely the high points of the topic. As soon as it has been copied the notebooks are laid aside and the professor, rising from his chair, proceeds to *expliquer* the summary. He puts in the details, he elaborates the ideas, he illustrates, he explains, he makes the whole situation real. He is always clear, often entertaining, and sometimes eloquent. Having completed his *explication*, he sits down again. The pupils

¹ Among the most notable of the exceptions, mention may be made of *Sidelights and Source Studies of American History*, by Harriet H. Shoen and Erling M. Hunt. This is a collection of highly interesting and highly useful material designed to supplement textbooks both as reading material and as material for various kinds of activities. It is, therefore, something more than an ordinary workbook and something more than an ordinary source book. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1939, 103 pp.

return to their notebooks and take another summary, which is followed by another *explication*. Two or three summaries and two or three *explications* are ordinarily given during an average class period. The first part of the next period is taken up with questioning. Each pupil as he is called upon steps up to the side of the professor's desk, hands in his notebook, and then faces the class. The professor asks questions, and, while the pupil is answering, examines the notebook. The design is to test first the memory and then the understanding. The latter receives special emphasis. The professor spends most of the time trying to find out if the pupil really knows what he is talking about. The pupil is not allowed to escape with vague statements. He too must be clear and definite, he too must *expliquer*. A French professor is constantly saying to his class by his manner, by his questions, and by his criticism: "*Messieurs, il faut préciser vos idées.*" Not more than two or three pupils are likely to be called forward during a class period, but the recitation at its best keeps the whole class alert and often calls forth brief discussion from the floor.

Whatever the plan evolved for assisting the pupil, the general American theory of personal initiative and personal independence would seem to suggest as one test of effectiveness the ability of the pupil eventually to find his way alone. The textbook is, after all, a book, and the ability to read a book is of greater importance than a predigested knowledge of its contents or the solution of predetermined problems. Whether any one of the plans thus far examined for piloting the pupil through his textbook trains him to be his own pilot later may well be doubted. The tendency, once the habit is established of assisting the pupil step by step to analyze, to select, and to organize the material in a textbook, is to go on giving the same kind of assistance to the end of the school course. What may then be expected is illustrated by the experience of the senior class mentioned above. This class may have been exceptionally stupid, but behind the apparent inefficiency lay six or seven years of successful historical study based upon ready-made outlines and guiding questions. Moreover, experiments with other classes accustomed to such outlines

and questions have, at stages ranging from the sixth grade up through the high school, revealed a similar state of inefficiency. Nor is it wholly without significance that even in college the all-directing outline is rather generally regarded by students as an inalienable right and by instructors as an indispensable condition of making a course intelligible.

In any event, training for independent study through practice in studying independently may, with textbooks in themselves intelligible, begin when the use of a textbook begins and continue throughout the course. There are in general three modes of procedure.

1. The pupil is sent to the textbook without preliminary directions or suggestions. He reads the lesson. On coming to class he is questioned on his reading. "What brought French sailors to the New World? Why were there so few Englishmen at first on the Newfoundland banks? What did the king of France think of Spanish and Portuguese claims to all new lands?" The question-and-answer method, that is, does for the pupil, after he has read the lesson, what guiding questions, ready-made outlines, or problems do for him while he is reading the lesson. The results are in appearance often good. The pupil is able to answer the questions. The plan does afford opportunity for independent study. It can, however, scarcely be said to encourage independent study. With guiding questions to lean upon in class, few pupils are likely to be stimulated to do more than to read the lesson, and often the first lesson is read as intelligently as the hundredth lesson.

2. The pupil is required to analyze the lesson and to bring to class a written outline. In the recitation one pupil is asked to copy his outline on the board. Other pupils criticize step by step, ask questions, and make suggestions. The teacher asks other questions and adds criticism and suggestions. The aim is to discover the best selection of particulars, the best words or phrases for indicating their nature, the best grouping of particulars, the best names for the groups, the best combinations of smaller into larger groups, the best names for the larger groups, and so on to a complete exhibit in outline of the lesson. The

outline built up on this cooperative plan and agreed upon as best is entered by all pupils in their notebooks and made the basis of later consideration of the lesson. The results are often admirable so far as the analysis of the lesson is concerned. The pupil learns how to discover on his own initiative what is really significant and why. The difficulty is to find time in class for discussions of anything except outlines. Some teachers meet the difficulty by omitting discussions of outlines as outlines and by requiring pupils to make them merely for their own guidance in reciting.

3. The pupil is taught in preliminary practice lessons, worked out in class under the immediate guidance of the teacher, how to study and how to learn a lesson. With books open at a passage like that on the fisheries and the French, quoted above, a practice exercise for a seventh grade may assume the form indicated by such directions and questions as the following:

Notice the heading of the paragraph. Read to yourselves the paragraph. Does the heading really tell you what the paragraph is about? Read the paragraph again and find all the different things that are mentioned. Name in three or four words each of these things and enter in your notebooks. How many of them would you expect to find mentioned under the heading, "The Fisheries and the French"? Pick out all the things that you would not expect to find mentioned under this heading. Put them together and think of the kind of heading under which you would expect to find them mentioned. What is the subject of the chapter? What things in the paragraph are directly connected with this subject? What have the other things to do with this subject? Are they necessary to give an idea of this subject? What things are necessary? What things, then, are most important for this subject? least important? The pupil, that is, analyzes the paragraph, names its separate parts, looks for relations, considers what is important from the point of view of these relations, selects and classifies the material. When his work is complete, he has before him an outline of the paragraph. From this outline he sums up the paragraph in his own words, and then, laying aside the outline, again sums up the paragraph.

Analyzing in the same way the next paragraph, he relates the material to what has gone before and again summarizes, first with the outline before him, and then with the outline laid aside, and so on to the end of the lesson. With the outline of the lesson as a whole before him, he sums up in his own words the whole lesson and then, laying aside the outline, sums up again the whole lesson. In this way emphasis is laid, not upon the outline itself, but upon the use to which it is put. The test of value is the connected account which the pupil is able to give of the paragraph or the lesson.

An average class will in the course of eight or ten practice lessons of this type learn how to apply the plan without directions and without questions, and the recitation may then resolve itself in part into a mere "hearing" of the lesson. The teacher announces a topic and, after a brief pause to give the class a start in thinking about it, calls upon A. The floor now belongs wholly to A. All the time there is his, and he is free to develop the topic in his own way without interruptions of any kind. After A has made his contribution, other members of the class offer criticism or ask questions. If the ground has not been satisfactorily covered, it is covered a second time by B, and then perhaps a third time by C. Then comes the teacher's turn. The pupils are questioned to make sure that they understand what they have been discussing. If they do not, the teacher guides them in further consideration of the topic and, when necessary, adds explanations. All this is for the purpose of bringing the data clearly before the class. The next step is to lead the pupils to make comparisons with other known data, to recognize differences and resemblances, to draw inferences, and to trace relations.

The ideal of this type of lesson is to make the pupil so intelligent in his use of a textbook that he may, by a single reading, and without the formality of writing out an outline, learn what he ought to learn. The ideal recitation for such a lesson is one in which the data furnished by the textbook are disposed of in fifteen or twenty minutes, so that the remainder of the period can be devoted to elaboration and to applications of the data, with the emphasis upon the applications.

There are other ways of dealing with the textbook. The pupil may, with or without specific guidance, prepare lessons and not recite them. The class period may in such cases be devoted wholly to discussions that either supplement the information provided by the text or turn that information to account in making comparisons, in reasoning from cause to effect, in building up generalizations. Or no outside preparation may be required. The time in class may be spent in reading the textbook, in making outlines or digests, or in summarizing essentials in some other way. The teacher may make running comments and ask questions designed to make the pupil think about his reading, with or without imposing upon him the burden of remembering anything. Or, with books open and the class merely skimming the pages, the teacher may talk about the "big things," with here and there a question to stimulate thought.

Some teachers believe that more than one textbook should be used. This was proposed by the Madison Conference. "We recommend," said the Conference, "that a practice be established in the schools of using two, three, or four parallel textbooks at a time. By preparing in different books, or by using more than one book on a lesson, pupils will acquire the habit of comparison and the no less important habit of doubting whether any one book covers the ground."¹ The custom of using more than one book can be dated far back of the Madison Conference. It had, however, been associated with communities in which pupils were in the habit of bringing such textbooks as the family happened to possess, and teachers had singularly overlooked such advantages as were suggested by the Conference. "If," wrote Horace Mann in 1837, "eight or ten scholars . . . have eight or ten different books, as has sometimes happened, instead of one recitation for all, there must be eight or ten recitations. Thus the teacher's time is crumbled into dust and dissipated. Put a question to a class of ten scholars, and wait a moment for each one to prepare an answer in his own mind, and then name the

¹ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee [of Ten] on Secondary School Studies . . . with the reports of the conferences . . .*, Washington, 1893, p. 189.

one to give the answer, and there are ten mental operations going on simultaneously; and each one of the ten scholars will profit more by this social recitation than he would by a solitary one of the same length. But if there must be ten recitations instead of one, the teacher is, as it were, divided by ten, and reduced to the tenth part of a teacher. Nine-tenths of his usefulness is destroyed.”¹ There are still teachers in backward communities who are struggling with the difficulty described by Horace Mann and who see the difficulty much as he saw it. That some teachers deliberately create the condition and reap advantages from it is not to be denied. But in general the time required for the learning of more than one textbook would bring more valuable results if devoted to collateral reading in works other than textbooks.

In any form of lesson-reciting an important place must be assigned to questioning. Questions should, first of all, be clear, definite, and concise. They should be so phrased as to be intelligible without repetition or reconstruction. Classes learn in time to know what a teacher means by awkwardly framed or ambiguous questions, but often the answers returned ought not logically to be forthcoming. Pupils answer because they guess, in spite of the question, what the teacher wants. This is bad both for the teacher and for the pupil. It would be better for both if there were more pupils like the boy in the story from Ohio. Said the teacher, “You know what I want you to say, Johnnie; why don’t you say it?” “I know what you want all right,” responded Johnnie, “but you ain’t asked the question what fetches it.”²

Questions are of two general kinds: those that call for facts, and those that call for the use of facts. Under the former are included all questions answered directly in the textbook. Under the latter are included all questions that require independent selection, grouping, comparison, inference, and application. Questions of the first kind are memory questions. Questions of the second kind are thought questions. Questions of either kind may assume a variety of general forms. They may be ques-

¹ Report to Massachusetts Board of Education, Boston, 1837, p. 34.

² Stevens, Romiett, *The Question as a Measure of Efficiency in Instruction*, New York, 1912, p. 4.

tions that can be answered by yes or no. Did Pitt sympathize with the colonies in 1774? Did Pitt have anything to do with bringing on the American Revolution? They may be alternative questions. Did Franklin look with favor or disfavor upon the Stamp Act? Was Franklin's attitude toward the Stamp Act wise or unwise? They may be leading questions. To stop smuggling in the colonies the English government resorted to what kinds of writs? What reasons had Hancock as a prominent Boston merchant for his opposition to English policy? They may name a subject or indicate a line of thought and leave the pupil to develop it. What were the causes of the American Revolution? Why was George Washington chosen commander-in-chief? They may, as in the examples cited earlier in this chapter, analyze a topic.

Questions that can be answered by yes or no and alternative questions should not be too sweepingly condemned. They can be so phrased as to exercise both memory and the powers of reflection. Their chief use is, however, to place the pupil on record, to establish a point of departure for criticism of some previous statement or for further development. Leading questions are most frequently employed in the developmental type of lesson, and here often convey the impression that the pupil is building up knowledge which is really being built up for him by the teacher. Such a procedure is scarcely to be justified. But the leading question has its uses. It may, like yes or no questions, serve the purpose of getting the pupil on record for further discussion. It may occasionally lead in the wrong direction for the purpose of testing the intellectual wariness of a pupil. In the main, however, teachers should ask questions that name subjects or indicate lines of thought and, when necessary, questions that guide analysis.

Questions that name subjects frequently involve a waste of words. Discuss Pericles, tell what you know about Pericles, what can you say of Pericles? what do you know about Pericles? — these are awkward, and in some respects objectionable, ways of announcing the topic Pericles. A high school boy was asked what he knew about Alexander the Great. "Alexander," he answered, "rode a fast horse in his youth and died drunk."

"You get a zero for that," remarked the teacher grimly. "But I did what you asked me," insisted the boy, "I told you what I know." The simple topic, Alexander the Great, might have elicited the same answer, but the teacher would have had better ground for the zero.

Questions, whatever their form, should deal with manageable units. A teacher in one lesson asked a pupil in the first year of the high school, "What influence have the literature and philosophy of ancient Athens had on our own literature?" Another teacher asked a pupil in the third year of the high school to "compare the labor laws of Elizabeth with the labor laws of our own country or state." The climax was, perhaps, attained by still another teacher who asked a pupil in a sixth grade to "compare the civilization of Athens with the civilization of the United States!" Such questions, unless specifically raised and discussed in the textbook or previously summarized in class, are, of course, impossible. Comparison should begin with specific acts or specific beliefs of particular men, or with specific conditions or specific events. Later on, one historical character may be compared with another historical character, one war with another war, one political campaign with another political campaign, one industry with another industry.

"Teachers," says Miss Stevens, "are rarely at a loss for questions — in fact it seems that the first consideration with many is ability to ask them rapidly. The situation as I have found it since I have been making a study of the subject makes me appreciate the attitude of the youthful teacher of history, who said with assurance upon accepting her first position, 'Oh, I'm going to ask questions so fast that the pupils will have no chance to think of anything.'"¹ This ideal seems often to be actually realized in practice. In the recitations in history observed by Miss Stevens, the number of questions asked during a forty-five-minute period ranged from 41 to 142; that is, from about one per minute to about three per minute.² Such a pace is obviously

¹ Stevens, Romiett, *The Question as a Measure of Efficiency in Instruction*, New York, 1912, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15.

fatal to any real thinking and can mean little more than the testing of the memory.

There is a place for rapid-fire memory questions. They are useful for purposes of drill and review. They are fair and proper tests of the reaction time of the pupil. But most teachers agree, in theory at least, that the emphasis should be laid upon questions that stimulate thought.

Recitations of any type may be either oral or written. Most American schools have too little rather than too much written work. But for the difficulty of finding time to read papers, it would be a wise rule to have some written work in every recitation. That difficulty cannot be wholly overcome. Yet most of the papers can be made brief. There can be a daily exercise of not more than five minutes on some question announced at the opening of the recitation, a weekly exercise of fifteen minutes on a single question, or on a series of questions requiring brief answers, and occasional exercises occupying the entire class period. Many of these papers can be exchanged and marked in class, the teacher giving the answers and the pupils giving the marks. Pupils, moreover, receive training in writing, whether all of the papers are read or not. A teacher responsible for one hundred pupils in the high school cannot be expected to read one hundred papers a day. He can read ten of the hundred. He can select parts of the ten for discussion in class and thus reach most of the conditions that call for criticism or commendation.

It would be idle to propose any one solution of the textbook problem as the best for all possible cases. That may be left to enthusiasts who believe in panaceas. But the self-activity of the pupil holds so large a place in American discussions of education that the plan of teaching the pupil to study the textbook independently and to sum up in class, without the assistance of guiding questions, what he has learned, merits some special consideration.

It may be objected that the plan is impossible, that it puts too great a strain upon the pupil, or that it destroys interest. To this there is the general answer that the plan can at the cost of a little time be tested in any school. Teachers who fear loss of

interest do not take sufficient account of the pleasure that comes with a sense of mastery. To give the pupil a sense of mastery is, indeed, one of the secrets of making anything interesting. No one can feel much enthusiasm in discussing what he does not know or even in applying what he does not know to the solution of problems. The analysis of a lesson, it may be added, offers in itself a very respectable problem.

It may be objected that the learning and reciting feature of the plan is simply a return to the dark ages of history teaching. But this is to ignore fundamental distinctions in the manner of preparing lessons, in the purpose of testing for results, and in the place assigned to such results in the general scheme of recitation. The learning and reciting constitute only a part of the lesson. The other and more important part consists of turning what has been learned from the textbook to use.

It may be objected that the very responsibility placed upon the pupil in giving him free rein to develop a topic in his own way is a standing invitation to inattention on the part of the class. The possibility of inattention must be admitted, but it is not peculiar to this type of recitation. Some of the least attentive of all classes are those constantly under the fire of "short, sharp questions." The evil is in many cases aggravated by the habit of making the recitation an affair between the teacher and the individual pupil who happens to be reciting. "Tell me," says the teacher, "about Alexander the Great." "Tell me what the Spartans did after the battle of Thermopylae." "Tell me where was opposition to Julius Caesar." Some teachers of exceptionally strong and attractive personality may find this introduction of a "pleasing personal element" effective. The majority will do well to encourage an entirely different attitude toward the lesson. Say to the pupil: "You are not telling this to me. You are telling it to the class. Think of it as something which no one here has ever heard of before. Tell it in such a way that a person who had actually never heard of it before would understand all about it. Tell it so well that we shall all be interested." It is quite possible in this way to give the pupil a different conception of his own contribution, to make him feel that if he does not hold the

attention of the class the fault is his and not the teacher's, to place him consciously in the position of the sensitive preacher or lecturer who finds his audience going to sleep. Experiment has shown that attention often follows if only as a matter of courtesy and reciprocity. John listens to Charles and James, knowing that when his turn comes, Charles and James will listen to him.

The real difficulty is not so much lack of attention on the part of the class as lack of self-restraint and patience on the part of the teacher. There are those to whom the mere thought of thirty seconds of silence in the classroom is intolerable. If the pupil hesitates an instant he is lost. There are others to whom a mispronounced word, a slip in grammar, a wrong name, or a wrong date is the signal for immediate interference. The reaction time of the slow pupil should of course be quickened. Errors should of course be corrected. Every pupil has a right to know whether he has done well or ill. It is tenderness altogether misplaced to let any pupil off with half statements or with statements only half true. The habit of some teachers of pronouncing everything "very good," or of correcting a pupil so gently that he does not know that he has been corrected, is to be deplored. It may not be altogether wise to indicate to a pupil his exact rank in the class. A French teacher one day said to a pupil, "You are the grandson of our premier but you are the last in your class," and the pupil readily admitted the fact. Another French teacher openly remarked to a visitor, "Our best pupil is absent to-day," and the class all nodded approvingly. This is the other extreme, but it is on the whole preferable to leaving a pupil entirely comfortable when, for his intellectual salvation, he ought to be uncomfortable. Criticism is to be encouraged and not discouraged. Contributions by the teacher are to be encouraged and not discouraged. But the slow and the quick, the erring and the letter perfect, are alike entitled to their day in court before sentence is passed or the recitation taken out of their hands. If the pupil is to do his part, he must have a fair chance, and if he is to have a fair chance, the teacher must cultivate the golden but neglected art of knowing when to keep still.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL READING

WHILE the textbook is in the United States the chief instrument of school instruction in history, it has long been a part of the American theory that the textbook should be supplemented by collateral reading. The need of reference books was strongly emphasized by the Madison Conference of 1892. "Recitations alone," it was declared, "cannot possibly make up proper teaching of history. It is absolutely necessary, from the earliest to the last grades, that there should be parallel reading of some kind."¹ Some progress in meeting this condition had been made before 1892. Information collected by the Conference seemed to indicate that about one-fifth of the grammar schools reporting and about one-half of the high schools and academies required some work outside of the textbook. But this work seems to have been viewed, even by some teachers who required it, as desirable rather than as "absolutely necessary." "The main necessity," urged the conference, "is that teachers should have it firmly fixed in their minds that it is as impossible to teach history without reference books, as it is to teach chemistry without glass and rubber tubing."²

The main necessity, so far as the high schools were concerned, appears to have been met with promptness and energy. The Committee of Seven in 1899 found little difference of opinion "on the question of supplementing the textbooks with additional reading of some sort." "Only one principal known to the Committee" advocated "the extensive use of the textbook with little or no additional work." Between theory and practice there was,

¹ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee [of Ten] on Secondary School Subjects . . . with the reports of the conferences . . .*, Washington, 1893, p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

however, a considerable gulf. "It is surprising," observed the Committee, "to find how few schools really seem fitted out with good collections of standard secondary writers, suitable either for reading or for written work." In view of the lack of material it was less surprising to find that three-fourths of the schools reporting had no specified requirement of collateral reading, and that the pupils were apparently left to browse without any system of enforcing readings. From the replies received, the Committee drew the conservative inference that the schools had not as yet "fully introduced the system of collateral reading," and that many of them did not have the necessary library.¹

The last twenty-five years have brought material gains. Many schools now have good libraries and make good use of them. Much stimulus has come from college entrance requirements. But the comments of the Committee of Seven on the situation in 1899 are still to a large extent applicable. Much of the work assigned is still wholly optional. There is still a conspicuous absence of any general system of specified requirements. There is still, in many cases, a lack of the necessary library.

The difficulty has been in part one of finding time for work outside of the textbook, and in part one of securing funds for the purchase of books. It has, perhaps, in larger part been a lack of definiteness in principles of grading, in the statement of aims, and in methods of selecting and managing library material. Numerous lists of very definite references have been compiled. Examples may be found in books on the teaching of history, in courses of study, in special guides to historical material, and in ordinary textbooks. There are lists that modestly confine work outside of the textbook mainly to readings in other textbooks, lists that refer almost exclusively to material prepared expressly for supplementary reading, lists that place the chief emphasis upon historical fiction and poetry, lists that refer for the most part to standard secondary works and standard primary sources, and lists that include, without fear or favor, references to textbooks, to simplified supplementary material, to fiction and poetry, and to

¹ American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools, Report . . . by the Committee of Seven*, New York, 1899, reprinted 1912, pp. 144, 145.

standard secondary works and standard sources. Apparently no taste nor interest nor stage of intelligence nor financial condition has been neglected. But relatively few of these lists suggest on analysis any high degree of discrimination in the selection of materials or make clear the special ends to be served and how to serve them.

What, for example, is to be expected from readings in other textbooks? The materials have the merit of being inexpensive and easy to obtain. They may to a slight extent impress upon pupils the fact that not all of history is in any one book. They may to a slight extent illustrate differences in point of view, and occasionally call attention to discrepancies in fact. But as a plan for supplementing in any real sense the class textbook, they approach the climax of futility. What is to be expected of simplified supplementary material? Here again the material is inexpensive and easy to obtain. Some of it is excellent, both as reading and as history. Much of it is, however, like the ordinary textbook, put together on the familiar principle of making a long chapter simple by reducing it to a short paragraph. Much of it suffers from the further disadvantage of being quite unhistorical.

References to other textbooks and to simplified supplementary material recognize at least that there is a problem of grading history. What is to be expected of lists in which no conception of grading is discoverable? There are lists for the elementary school which are in large part duplicated for the high school, and even for college courses in history. In some cases, indeed, the chief difference is in the amount of reading suggested, and this difference is not always in favor of the elementary school. One of the simplest and most successful of grammar school histories has in its list of references on the American Revolution: Hart, *Formation of the Union*, chapters 3-4; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, chapters 3-13; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chapters 1-17; Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, chapters 21-35; and half a dozen other works of similar grade. One of the most advanced textbooks for the senior year of the high school has in its list of references on the American Revolution precisely the same works, but the readings are less extended. The reading in

Howard is, for example, chapters 1-5, and 15-17, and in Van Tyne, chapters 4-6, and 7-17. The works here enumerated are at least fairly accessible. There are lists that show, not only a singular lack of discrimination in the matter of grading, but a curious disregard of ordinary library resources. A high school textbook in United States history, issued by one of the best-known publishing houses in the country, refers to such works as Kingsford's ten-volume *History of Canada*, the collected writings of Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and Dickinson, Force's *American Archives*, the New York State *Documents*, and the *Annual Register* for 1765 as familiarly as if these were an indispensable part of every school library!

Before accepting any ready-made list, or attempting to draw up an independent list, the teacher should raise very definitely and answer very definitely certain fundamental questions. Why is collateral reading essential? What are the main purposes to be served? What kinds of readings are suitable? What kinds of readings shall be required, and what kinds shall be optional? Shall the readings be the same for all members of the class, or shall they be differentiated? Shall they be confined to a few books, or shall the pupil be introduced to as many different books as possible? How much reading may reasonably be expected? How shall readings be assigned? How reported? On what principle, or principles, shall materials be collected for a small library? for a large library? What constitutes a good working library?

The claims for collateral reading have, perhaps, at times been exaggerated. It may not be altogether impossible to teach some chemistry "without glass and rubber tubing." It may not be altogether impossible to teach some history "without reference books." It may be that a good textbook, intelligently studied and intelligently discussed in class, can be made to yield results that are at least respectable. This possibility should not be overlooked. Indeed, if the choice, as some teachers think, is between knowing one book thoroughly and knowing a number of books superficially, there is something to be said in favor of the one book. At the same time textbooks as a class are not entirely self-explanatory to all pupils. Most of them require frequent elaboration. The one

book cannot be known thoroughly without knowing more than the one book reveals. The choice, then, is not between one book and more than one ; it is between elaboration by the teacher and elaboration by means of collateral reading. European conditions in general favor the former ; American conditions in general favor the latter. This does not mean that the whole burden of elaboration is or can be shifted to collateral reading. In any proper teaching of history there must be contributions by the teacher. But American theories and American conditions are alike unfavorable to any large amount of oral instruction, and alike force upon most teachers the alternative of shifting to collateral reading the main burden.

Collateral reading is needed to make the textbook itself intelligible. This suggests: (1) materials to add elements of reality, and (2) materials to add information important as information. There are other needs quite as apparent. American conditions demand of history teaching something more than atmosphere and facts. There are tastes to be cultivated, interests to be stimulated, kinds of insight to be developed, and habits to be formed, that open of necessity a field beyond the textbook. Such further needs suggest: (3) materials to make history interesting or inspiring ; (4) materials to give acquaintance with historical literature ; and (5) materials to illustrate the historical method of study. All of these are needs to be recognized in any scheme of collateral reading that professes to be adequate. They do not, in all cases, imply different kinds of material. The same material may at times serve more than one purpose, and should, so far as possible, be adapted to more than one purpose. Often, however, conditions will require a differentiation of material. In any case the purposes themselves should be differentiated, for each implies a treatment of material somewhat peculiar to itself.

The significance and general conditions of making the past real, the materials available for the purpose, and their limitations, have been considered in earlier chapters. Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, for this purpose should not be treated as material to be learned and recited. As already pointed out, details in a high degree useful in stimulating the sense of

reality are often details of a kind that no historian would dignify as history, and no teacher ought to dignify them as material to be remembered, or even as material to be entered in the notebook. They may be used as material for dramas, for imaginary letters and diaries, and for other exercises that invite in a special way conscious effort to turn back the clock of time. They may simply be read for impressions, for atmosphere. The essential condition is that they should leave behind feelings for and about the past.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, for the purpose of adding information important as information presents quite a different problem. Such reading includes, presumably, facts that are to be both learned and recited. It is, therefore, in all essentials to be treated in the same manner as the textbook itself. The pupil may be assisted by ready-made outlines, by questions, by problems, or by other guiding devices. He may be left to find on his own initiative what he ought to find, and to report in class his own independent summary. He may in all cases be required to enter in his notebook the main facts. The reading must, then, be of such a character as to lend itself to analysis and summary. It is not enough that an account is authoritative and not too long. It is not enough that it is easy to read. Many accounts that meet these conditions defy analysis and leave only the vague impression that something tremendously important or surpassingly beautiful or hopelessly ugly "passed that way." Such dissolving panoramas of adjectives have their place in a scheme of collateral reading, but that place is not to supply information. If there is to be analysis, there must be something in the form of definite, perceptible conditions or events to analyze.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to make history interesting or inspiring should be treated merely as good reading. The pupil should feel under no compulsion to analyze or to summarize. There should be no set questions to answer, no problems to solve, no necessary looking forward to any formal report, but complete freedom to read because he likes it, or to stop reading because he dislikes it. The pupil should, however, be encouraged to express his honest opinions of the readings as

readings. If, as will often be the case, he forgets to stop at the end of the assignment, if he reads a whole chapter where only one page was suggested, or if he reads a whole book where only one chapter was suggested, he will want to talk about his experience and should have the opportunity. He should also be encouraged to copy in his notebook passages which, for any reason, arouse his special enthusiasm, and to commit some of them to memory. If, on the other hand, as will also often be the case, he stops before the end of the assignment, if his sole impression is one of "I don't like it," or "I hope never to see that book again," he should still have an opportunity to express his opinion, if only as partial compensation for weariness occasioned by an unwise assignment. The test of success is the pleasure derived from the reading, the desire created for more reading, and the indefinable stirrings and strivings promoted by any good reading.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to give acquaintance with historical literature should be so treated as to emphasize the record and the recorder rather than what is recorded. The works of historians are themselves achievements, in some cases worthy to rank with the most notable of the achievements which they record, and the historians are themselves in consequence important historical characters. In any case the record is itself the achievement to be considered, and as such cannot be considered entirely apart from the recorder. The reading should, therefore, include, in addition to passages from the record, some account of the recorder, his training for historical investigation, his purpose in writing, the kinds of materials which he used, his care or lack of care in sifting them, his personal bias, the time devoted to his task. Passages in the record itself should be selected with a view to indicating its scope and general characteristics. What period does it embrace? what peoples or countries? Is it in general of the story-telling, the didactic, or the scientific type? Is its main theme governmental affairs, or some other theme? Does it merely relate and explain facts, or does it pass ethical and other judgments upon them? Is it glaringly partial to one country or race or religion or political system? Is it easy or hard to read? Is it interesting or dull? Questions such

as these should be brought up for brief discussion in class. In conclusion there should be some indication of what, in the opinion of to-day, is the value of the record as historical literature.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to illustrate the historical method of study may be treated either as material for oral discussion in class or for written work to be handed in. The general problem is, of course, to convey some impression of how histories are made. This is in part accomplished by such consideration of the record and the recorder as was suggested in the last paragraph. It can be more definitely accomplished by actual exercises in historical criticism and construction. These require careful adjustment. The pupil should at the beginning go to the materials with some simple and specific question or problem, so framed as to make him conscious of some specific aspect of historical study. One exercise may consist merely of classifying a source as primary or secondary. Another may raise the question, "What does it mean?" Another may raise the question, "Is it true?" In the end the pupil should recognize, with some degree of clearness at least, that there are different kinds of sources, that there are definite processes of criticism, that the facts established vary in degree of probability, that there are different ways of selecting and combining facts, and that there is a special apparatus in the form of tables of contents, indexes, footnotes, and systematic bibliographical guides to aid him in finding out quickly what a book is about, what it has to say on this or that topic, what its chief authorities are, and what books or articles have been written on any historical subject which he may be directed to look up or in which he may be interested.

The material that can be read by children in the first five or six grades of the elementary school is necessarily limited. Most of the reading should, therefore, be to the class rather than by the class. Emphasis in the lower grades will naturally fall upon readings designed chiefly to make the past real and interesting. But, beginning as early as the fifth or sixth grade, something can be done through readings by the teacher for the promotion of all the purposes that have been indicated. The range of possible selection is wider than some teachers seem to suspect. "Our learned

and more exhaustive historical works," says a writer who has himself rendered valuable service in providing interesting material to supplement textbooks, "are beyond the reach of most busy people, nor are they adapted to use in the schools. Between these two extremes, the condensed textbook and the ponderous volumes of the historian, we find many books of great value — biographies, memoirs, histories of limited periods or of particular localities — but none of these, as far as the author knows, is fitted for the use of schools or was prepared with that end in view."¹ Here are enumerated precisely the types of works which, when accessible, contribute most richly the sort of material needed to make history real, intelligible, and interesting. Many of them are in places quite as concrete, and therefore quite as simple, as the best of accounts made over especially for school use. Many of them are in places more concrete, and therefore simpler, than the average simplified account. If concreteness is a test of what is suitable, it is a mistake to hold, as many teachers do, that the availability of historical material for school purposes varies inversely with its bulk and historical importance. It is, however, at any stage of school instruction, a greater mistake to refer indiscriminately to "the ponderous volumes of the historian" and to "biographies, memoirs, histories of limited periods or of particular localities." The passages selected must meet the necessary conditions of grading, and the works themselves must be reasonably accessible.

There are some books that should not be made over. A protest voiced some years ago against this tendency in dealing with literature applies also to history. "The noble heritage of great books that awaits every cultivated person is dealt out ahead of time in shreds and patches, in ineffective lumps, in diluted extracts. The publishers' catalogues are filled with the titles: tales from this master, a child's version of that, vignettes from the other. . . . All that has made the book delightful has been left out, the personal equation, the living presence of the writer as perceived in his immortal words, for these have been displaced by two syllabled imitations. The spark of the divine has been quenched.

¹ Elson, Henry William, *Side Lights on American History*, New York, 1928, I, iv.

And there is really no stopping place. As writers multiply, new incursions will be made. We may have *The Child's Own Faust*, *Machiavelli for Little Tots*, *Rabelais in Simple Words*, *The Westminster Confession in Easy Rhymes*, *Little Dramas from Aeschylus*.¹ History, like literature, may be spoiled by bringing it "down to the child's effortless understanding." More history can be read to children before they are able to read anything themselves, and more can be done in shaping their tastes for historical reading than is commonly supposed. It would be an abnormal fourth grade that could read with ease and certainty the works of Francis Parkman, but any one who has tried it knows that a fourth grade by no means abnormal will listen with pleasure to a teacher's readings from Parkman. Where such a course is not possible, it is better to defer to a later stage the introduction of the material than to give it over to the dull hand of pedagogy for adaptation.

Readings to the class have a place in history teaching throughout the entire school course. This is especially true of readings designed to kindle interest and enthusiasm. The teacher who reads well can make effective many a passage which even seniors in the high school might on their own account read listlessly or entirely neglect. Many such readings will be suggested by the discussions which spring up during the class period, and these are often more impressive than readings carefully planned in advance. On one occasion, in a class not given to much enthusiasm, a mild curiosity concerning Napoleon's speech before the Battle of the Pyramids led the teacher to pick up a book from the desk and read the speech. The words caught the fancy of the class and, for perhaps the first time, lifted every member out of boredom. "Say," exclaimed one of the boys, "that's pretty good, isn't it?" The teacher wisely took advantage of the discovery and by the end of the year had a class responsive beyond all expectation.

Collateral reading by the class should, however, begin not later than the sixth grade, and above the seventh grade may with profit be made a part of the daily preparation. Here again some of the most effective assignments will, throughout the course, be

¹ *Educational Bi-Monthly*, February, 1908, p. 225.

those suggested directly by class discussions. Again and again the wise teacher will interrupt discussion and suggest some reading as a basis for continuing the discussion at the next meeting of the class. But there should also be regular readings carefully planned in advance. Some of these will be for information to be reported in class by designated individuals. Others will be readings for groups of pupils, or for the entire class. Readings for elaboration of the textbook and readings to illustrate the historical method should, as a rule, be the same for all and required of all. Readings for inspiration may at first be required, but, if at all successful, may later be left largely optional. Readings to give acquaintance with historical literature may be required the first time a work is introduced. Later readings in the same work may be made optional.

The extent to which the various purposes of collateral reading can be served will depend somewhat upon the nature of the textbook. With some textbooks the need of elaboration to make the book intelligible will be suggested by almost every page. The other kinds of readings will then be somewhat limited. Every effort should, however, be made to convey to pupils some impression of each of the fields. With some textbooks the need of elaboration will be felt only in the treatment of certain special topics. The readings can then be devoted largely to inspiration and to illustrations of historical literature and of the historical method. The system of readings should in any case provide for alternations of what is required and what is optional, so as to include in turn different types of readings under each.

In the assignment of collateral reading the first rule is to avoid waste of time in making the assignment. The lists of readings for a week, or for two weeks, should either be mimeographed and distributed in class or posted in some convenient place. The second rule is to avoid waste of time in finding the books. Each class should, so far as possible, have a reserve shelf, open without any preliminaries and within easy reach. There should also be designated reading periods so arranged as to prevent conflicts in the use of books. The smaller the library, the greater the need of such adjustment. A class may, for example, be divided into

two sections, A and B. Each section may then be subdivided into smaller groups, 1, 2, 3, 4. The groups should represent at least a rough grading of abilities, group 1 consisting of the best readers, and group 4 of those to whom the wind must be somewhat carefully tempered. Section A may have as special reading days Mondays and Wednesdays, section B, Tuesdays and Thursdays, Fridays being set aside as general clearance days for both sections. With the readings arranged in groups, each pupil will look for his group number, and, knowing his section, A or B, will know when he is to do his reading. Where there are regular study hours during the school day, these should, so far as possible, be used for the reading. Where there are no such study hours, provision must be made for taking books home on reading days, and this, with a small library, may necessitate further divisions of the class. A good test of the degree of interest aroused will often be furnished by the calls for material on clearance days.

References thus assigned in any field should, while the field is new, designate definite pages and often specified passages definitely marked in the books, but some independent searching for material should from the outset be encouraged. Where the library equipment is sufficient, there should usually be for each group three or four different references illustrative of different kinds of material, with instructions to the pupil to read the first and one or more of the others. The independent search for material should at first be confined to the books included in the regular list of readings. The simplest arrangement is to set for the entire class some one question the answer to which is to be found somewhere in the books of each group. After the pupils have acquired some facility in the use of indexes and tables of contents, the references may omit pages and simply suggest topics to be found in one or more of the assigned books. Still later, topics may be included without reference to any specified material, the pupils being left to find both the book and the place in the book.

Beginning with the seventh grade each pupil should be required to keep a record of his reading. He should note at least:

1. Full name of the author.
2. Full title of the work.
3. Number of volumes, publisher, place and date of publication.
4. Number of pages read.
5. Personal impression.

Under personal impression the pupil should enter passages that make a special appeal, statements that differ from those of the text or from statements made in class, questions raised by the reading which he would like to know more about, and any other matter of direct personal interest. Often the only entry to be expected will be "interesting," or "dry," "I don't like this book," or "I like it very much." The important point is to get an honest entry. Such a record is of value both to the pupil and the teacher. It furnishes a fairly clear indication of what is suitable at different stages, of the steps in the development of the ability to read, and of taste for reading.

What pupils can read, what they will read, and how much, are questions to be answered by experiment. A teacher feeling his way may begin with selections suggested by the textbook. If these are of different types — standard historical works, sources, and books prepared especially for children — he may include in each group one example of each and require the class to read something from each. A seventh grade may, for example, be given the following assignments on the Pilgrims:

1. Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, pp. 159-181.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, pp. 311-337.
Gordy, *Leaders and Heroes*, pp. 64-79.
2. Scribner's *Popular History*, I, pp. 385-399.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, pp. 311-337.
Wright, *Stories of American History*, pp. 300-315.
3. Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 73-86.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, pp. 311-337.
Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, pp. 111-126.
4. Higginson, *Larger History*, pp. 153-158.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, pp. 311-337.
Dodge, *Stories of American History*, pp. 18-25.

Special question for all: Why did the Pilgrims leave Holland?² The first discussion of such readings should deal with the

personal impressions of pupils. If the teacher learns, as is likely to be the case, that a seventh grade cannot understand Eggleston, and that this reference is reported by all of the first group as "very hard," he will find it illuminating to analyze the work with a view to discovering why it is hard. If he learns that Higginson's *American Explorers* is the most popular book on the list and that one of the children's books is condemned because "it is so preachy," he will again find it illuminating to examine the material with special care. In this way any teacher of ordinary industry will in time learn definitely what is most suitable and least suitable.

Beyond the pupil's personal impression little should at first be reported in class, except in the case of readings assigned specifically for information. One cardinal mistake of many teachers is practically to limit readings to information, or at least to treat all readings as if information concerning the subject matter constituted the one important consideration. There must be readings for information. The emphasis laid upon facts is entirely deserved. But the greater part of the reading ought to be for inspiration, for the cultivation of tastes, for insight, and for the formation of habits. Facts, after all, come and go. Tastes, insight, and habits remain.

Having determined as definitely as possible the uses to be made of a library, the teacher is prepared to inquire what kind of library is necessary. Where the money allowance is small, an initial error is often committed in the selection of material. With only \$5 or \$10 available, the common procedure is to buy textbooks, or other brief general treatises, and inexpensive source books. In this way the entire field is covered, but the outside reading made possible on any particular topic is necessarily meager. The principle in such cases is first to buy a library and then to see what can be done with it. A better principle for teachers with slender resources would be to determine first what topics are in special need of elaboration, what kinds of inspiration, what kinds of historical literature, and what kinds of illustration of the historical method are most desirable, and then fit the library to meet the conditions. The teacher is justified in begin-

ning with topics about which he happens to know something, or, if he is equally informed on all topics, in beginning with a few of special current interest. With a total appropriation of \$10 or \$12, the teacher can, on this principle, collect materials on half a dozen special topics in American history, superior to the materials furnished even by detailed histories, or, with the same appropriation, can collect really illuminating materials on special topics ranging over the entire field of the history course.

Where the resources are less limited, the teacher may begin with a consideration of the elements that should be present in a general historical collection. He wishes, let us say, to have typical examples of the different kinds of historical material. Still selecting to some extent with reference to special topics, he decides that there should be: (1) bibliography; (2) historical geography; (3) local history; (4) standard comprehensive histories; (5) some special treatises on special topics or on limited periods; (6) biography; (7) sources, including collections of extracts and some fuller works, especially diaries, reminiscences, autobiographies, and letters. For the selection of materials of all kinds here indicated, the most serviceable general guide is *A Guide to Historical Literature*, published by The Macmillan Company, 1931. This is annotated and covers the whole world. Twenty-five dollars, it may be added, is sufficient to secure some representation of all the kinds of material named, including both European and American history.

The principle of building up a library in strict accordance with predetermined needs, whether applied in either of the ways suggested, or in some other way, emphasizes early in the course of selection the need of duplicating materials. The common plan of buying as many different works as possible is of doubtful value to any average school. It is better, in making additions to a small library, to buy six copies of one really serviceable work than to buy six different works. In a library of any considerable size, 500 volumes or more, there should be several duplicate sets even of the more comprehensive histories; in the field of American history, for example, at least three or four sets of Schouler, Henry Adams, McMaster, Rhodes, Channing, and Beard. Only the

largest libraries can afford the indulgence of extending their lists of different titles as far as possible.

A small library selected for definite use and used definitely is the best argument for securing additional funds from school boards. Teachers of history have in the past been too modest. They have accepted too philosophically a condition which stocks the departments of biology, chemistry, and physics with expensive apparatus and leaves the history shelves absurdly inadequate. They have been reconciled too easily to textbook instruction. The fault is in large part their own. They have failed to realize the needs and possibilities of collateral reading, and have, in consequence, allowed a tradition to develop which is now often a serious obstacle even to the most competent teachers. But it is never too late to struggle against a bad tradition. Most teachers of history now look upon a library as indispensable. It remains to convince many school administrators that a library is indispensable. The general mode of attack is clear. It is to use the little material that may be available so effectively that appeals for more can be based upon concrete results.

SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

To most teachers, most of the time, history for school purposes presents itself as a body of assured knowledge, selected portions of which are to be interpreted, learned, and, so far as possible, applied to life in the present. Some teachers seem to believe that history may literally set forth the truth and nothing but the truth. For this there is distinguished precedent. Eighteenth century Johnson, according to Macaulay, with a touch of the literary critic's contempt for historians, put the case very simply. "The historian tells either what is false or what is true: in the former case he is no historian: in the latter he has no opportunity for displaying his abilities: for truth is one: and all who tell the truth must tell it alike."¹ In a vein not altogether different it is related of Fustel de Coulanges, nineteenth century critical historian, that one day when he was lecturing and his students broke into applause, he stopped them with the remark, "Do not applaud me, it is not I who address you; it is history which speaks through me."²

That there is a residuum of assured historical knowledge is not to be denied. Without it history could have little claim to differentiation from fiction. The residuum is in fact so large that the idea of drawing exclusively upon it for school purposes may seem entirely feasible. In practice that idea has, however, not been realized. If many of the textbooks and some of the popular histories used in school convey a different impression, if they are in general pervaded by an atmosphere of undisputed verity, the effect is, in large part, achieved by the arbitrary device of elevat-

¹ Macaulay, T. B., *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems*, Boston, 1880, 3 Volumes, I, 276.

² *Congress of Arts and Sciences*, St. Louis, 1904, II, 158.

ing opinions based upon incomplete evidence to the rank of clearly established truth. It is by means of this device that some of the most familiar personages, conditions, and events have, for school purposes, been withdrawn from the realm of controversy. Take the case of Columbus. In a well-known and deservedly popular textbook we read:

Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer, was born in Genoa, Italy, about 1436. He spent most of his early life at sea, and became an experienced navigator. He was a man who read widely, and intelligently. When on shore, his trade was the designing and making of maps. This occupation led him to think much about the shape of the earth, and he came to agree with those men who held that the earth is round like a globe. This belief led him to conclude that Asia could be reached by sailing westward and that a new route to India could be opened.

The account is accompanied by a portrait, labeled "Christopher Columbus."

The facts sum up in a typical manner the Columbus of our elementary schools, and, as here presented, make a very simple and reasonable kind of history. It is interesting to know how Columbus looked, where he came from, and how he made up his mind that India could be reached by sailing westward. But is the assurance warranted? A larger and more critical history informs us that while a number of portraits exist with claims to the honor of representing Columbus, "there is no likeness whose claim is indisputable."¹ Concerning the date of birth and the genesis of the ideas that lead to the discovery of America, another critical historian writes:

Christopher Columbus was born at some time between 1430 and 1456, the precise date of this event being of slight importance nowadays, save to him who seeks to conjure up a picture of the great seaman as he paced the deck of his flagship off San Salvador on that pregnant October night in 1492. Henry Harisse and Justin Winsor unite in giving the date as 1446-47, and when these two agree one may as well follow them without more ado. Eighteen places claim Columbus as a native, but scholars unite in giving that honor to Genoa or its immediate vicinity. At an early age he shipped on his first voyage, and kept

¹ Winsor, Justin, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1886, II, 69.

on sailing the seas until, some years later, he found himself in Portugal, the fifteenth century meeting place of adventurous and scientific seamen.

Exactly how or when Columbus made up his mind as to the shape of the earth, the feasibility of sailing westward to India, and determined to do it, is not clear. Ferdinand Columbus, for instance, tells us that the admiral was influenced by the works of Arab astronomers and by Ptolemy and the ancients. But whether this should be taken in more than a general sense may be doubted. Another theory is that Columbus, studying the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre D'Ailly, Bishop of Cambray, came across the old ideas which that compiler had borrowed from Roger Bacon. The first printed copy of the *Imago Mundi* was made at Louvain not before 1480; but Columbus thought that the earth was round before that time and there is no evidence that he ever read the Bishop of Cambray's work in manuscript. It is true that in the report of his third voyage (1498) he quoted a sentence from this book, and there still exists a copy of it with marginal notes in his handwriting, or in that of his brother, Bartholomew, for the writing of the two was much alike. But none of these things proves that he had read the work in manuscript, nor is there reason to suppose that the theories of the ancients had much, if any, direct influence upon him. If he had known of the Bishop of Cambray's book before 1492, it is most probable that he would have used it as an authority to reinforce his ideas; but there is no evidence that he did this. Another way to account for Columbus's opinions is to attribute great influence to the letters of Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli of Florence. Sir Clements R. Markham even goes so far as to print them as the "sailing directions of Columbus." A more recent writer, Henry Vignaud, has gone to the other extreme and has denied that such letters ever existed.¹

Many teachers who habitually treat history in school as assured knowledge are, of course, aware of doubts lurking behind, not only individual facts, but behind the selection and organization of facts. They know that individual facts, even when true, may yet in combination fail to convey the truth. They agree with Macaulay that one writer may even tell less truth than another by telling more truths. But school conditions seem to them to render dogmatism both necessary and desirable. There is, in the first place, the question of what is possible. History of the kind in which an author writes as if he really knows presents difficulties. History of the kind in which an author writes as if

¹ Channing, Edward, *History of the United States*, New York, 1905-1925, I, 14-15.

nobody really knows introduces complications which many teachers consider unsuitable for children, beyond their range of interests, and confusing, even to the average adult. To be told in substance that there was once a man by the name of Christopher Columbus who made up his mind that India could be reached by sailing westward, and that considerable energy, most of it vain, has been expended in trying to find out when and where he was born and how he reached his epoch-making conclusion may be satisfying to historical experts; it neither can nor ought to be satisfying to others. Both for children and for the general reading public, history, to be read at all, must be something definite to believe about the past and not something to be doubted or argued about. If there are controversies, they must, therefore, be forcibly suppressed.

There are, in the second place, uses of history to which, it is often urged, the subject must at any cost be subordinated. Balanced opinions, and arguments that lead chiefly to doubt, are, even if manageable, at best uninspiring and at worst positively harmful to childhood and youth. They are, therefore, to be avoided, and even resented. "There is a certain meddlesome spirit," says Washington Irving, at the end of his account of the early years of Columbus and of the origin of the idea of a western voyage, "which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish."¹ Many teachers find in the "salutary purposes of history" a justification for eliminating controversy.

There is, in the third place, a feeling that such exaggeration of historical probability as may result from a dogmatic treatment need excite no special concern. School history, it is argued, is in most cases destined to an early oblivion, and if, in some cases, remnants do survive, it is at worst better to go through life with

¹ Irving, Washington, *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, Author's revised edition, New York, 1850, Three Volumes, I, 55-56.

a few definite errors than to think of history as something that might have been either this or that, and was probably neither. "It's all in confidence," says a delightful essayist, protesting, on behalf of the "Gentle Reader," against the ways of the critical historian, "speak out as one gentleman to another under a friendly roof! What do you think about it? No matter if you make a mistake or two, I'll forget most that you say anyway."¹

Shall doubts, then, be suppressed? Shall mere personal opinions, mere guesses, and sometimes mere fancies be combined on terms of complete equality with indisputable facts? Shall the study of history concern itself only with the meaning of an author? Shall there be no distinction between *his story*, with the emphasis upon the *his*, and *history*? In the opinion of a growing minority of history teachers, both in Europe and in America, to ask such questions is in effect to ask whether the school view of history shall be intelligent or unintelligent.

The history learned in school unquestionably makes its heaviest contribution to oblivion. But there are some results which endure. The treatment of history as assured knowledge prepares for the treatment of history as assured knowledge. The tendency of pupils accustomed in school to accept facts as facts without discrimination is to continue in after life to accept and to use facts without discrimination. The tendency of pupils accustomed in school to look upon the printed page itself as evidence of the truth of what is printed is to continue in after life in subjection to the tyranny of the printed page. So natural and so strong are these tendencies that they sometimes persist even after university courses in history. It was a graduate student who, some years ago, asked a professor of history whether, if Lincoln had lived, there would have been any conflict between the President and Congress, and who, on receiving in answer a qualified affirmative, asked to have authorities cited in exactly the same spirit as if the question had been, "When did Lincoln die?" All efforts to show the difference between finding out what actually was and finding out what might have been if something that was had been different proved unavailing. The student returned the next day

¹ Crothers, Samuel McChord, *The Gentle Reader*, Boston, 1903, p. 173.

with a look of triumph. "I thought," said he, "that you must be wrong about Lincoln," and read from a popular history an extract to the effect that Lincoln would have had no trouble in carrying through Congress the reconstruction policy which in the hands of Andrew Johnson met with disastrous defeat.

There are degrees of probability even in the history that might have been. The case for Lincoln is no doubt better than many other similar cases. Between information supplied by schoolboys gravely debating what would have happened if George Washington had never been born and information supplied by statesmen gravely debating what George Washington would have done with the Philippines, there is no doubt a reasonable choice. But speculations on what might have been are in all cases speculation. They are so common and so easy to detect that the most casual reader might be expected to place them in a class apart at least from the history alleged to have actually happened. Children in the grades can grasp the distinction when attention is called to it. The fact, established by repeated tests, that neither children in the grades nor casual readers, to go no farther, ordinarily think even of this simple distinction renders unnecessary any illustration of their general attitude toward more subtle distinctions.

The desirability of discrimination in dealing with historical data is too apparent for argument. Not all of us read histories, but all of us begin with the first dawning of intelligence to use facts known to us historically and not directly. It is a commonplace that most of our conversation is narrative and historical, whether the subject be what we, our friends, or some other person, said or did this morning, or what was said or done a hundred or a thousand years ago. It is a commonplace that data historical in character enter into most of the thinking and planning of life from childhood to the grave. It ought to be a commonplace that schoolroom history should give the pupil some consciousness of what historical knowledge is and some training in the method by which historical knowledge is established. It ought to be a commonplace that there are "salutary purposes" to be served by history as a process of determining, selecting, and

arranging facts, not less important than those to be served by history as the organized result.

Training in the historical method of study is a somewhat formidable expression difficult to dissociate from university work. But the teacher must not be frightened by what may appear to be pretentious terminology. We speak of history in the elementary school and history in the university, without prejudice to either. It is convenient, and it ought to be possible, to speak of the historical method in both, without prejudice to either. Certainly the processes thus described — the search for material, the classification and criticism of material, the determination of particular facts, the selection and arrangement of facts — present elementary aspects. A first grade can be led to see that something is learned about the Indians from things dug up out of the ground, something from writings of white men who reported what they saw, and something from stories told by Indians about themselves and later reported by white men. First-grade children will themselves often suggest that the Indians did not write books. A fourth grade can be led to think of different ways of knowing about people, and of the relative merits of the different ways of knowing about them. A sixth grade can be taught the use of indexes and tables of contents and something of the significance of references to authorities. A seventh grade can be led to solve some simple problems in criticism. From the first, there can be exercises in putting facts together, and, above the seventh grade, exercises involving essential aspects of the historical method of study from the search for material to the organization and exposition of results.

Those who have been aware of the possibilities have sometimes gone the length of declaring that history, as early at least as in the high school, should be habitually and almost exclusively presented through the use of primary sources. Mary Sheldon applied this idea in her *Studies in General History*, published in 1885, and again, as Mary Sheldon Barnes, in her *Studies in American History*, published in 1891, the latter volume followed in 1892 by a *Teacher's Manual*. The *Studies* consisted of extracts and pictures from primary sources, with a little connecting material and with

questions designed to make pupils work for their facts. This was the "source method" applied with a skill which has not been surpassed. But many teachers failed to understand what the questions were for and assigned pages to be learned after the manner of ordinary textbooks. That defeated the whole purpose of the plan and led to complaints that the books were unsuitable. Wiser teachers found the sources too scanty to justify the facts which were expected to be drawn from them. Fred Morrow Fling and H. W. Caldwell, beginning in 1896, modified the plan by introducing more sources and more connecting material and by admitting that many facts must be taught in the ordinary way. Their work, adapted both to elementary and to secondary schools, was widely applied in the state of Nebraska. Since then many source books have been published, but their purpose in most cases has been merely to provide illustrative material and not to promote the source method. The Middle West appears to have gone farther than the East in the use of the source method, but relatively few teachers have carried the method very far. Most teachers who have used sources have used them only as illustrative material. Similar conditions have prevailed in Europe.

Occasional exercises that go beyond history as assured information have been admitted to workbooks but the results have not been very encouraging. History for schools has for more than three hundred years been judged almost wholly by the kind of information which it supplies, and the preparation of teachers still consists overwhelmingly of the accumulation of information. Teachers thus trained can scarcely be expected to have much appreciation of historical criticism, and pupils trained in the same way have in thousands of cases failed in very simple critical problems because they did not understand the nature of the problem. Given a few lessons on how we know what we know, the same problems have been solved with ease.¹

Few teachers would now advocate the source method as understood by Mary Sheldon. School history must, in the main, be presented as ready-made information. But there can be, and should be, illustrations of the historical method sufficient to

¹ Based on tests made by the author extending over a period of many years.

indicate the general nature of the problems behind organized history, and sufficient to give some definite training in the solution of such problems. How shall this be accomplished?

Here, let us say, is a teacher of a fourth or a fifth grade who is called upon by the course of study to discuss with her class some of the peoples of antiquity. She has discovered that for certain subjects Herodotus seems to be a mine of information, and that somehow he has mastered the art of telling a story so as to be interesting even in a translation. He is to be used mainly for information, but the teacher believes that the children's interest will not be lessened by raising here and there the question of how Herodotus gathered his information. The rôle of father of history, which he has played so long, lends, it may be, a peculiar sense of fitness to the idea of raising the question first with him. She begins with a few preliminary questions: What people are there in the world besides Americans? How do you know? Who are the oldest people in the world?

On one occasion a girl knew that there were Germans in the world because she had heard her mother speak of a German woman. The teacher wrote on the blackboard: "We may know of people by hearing about them." A boy knew that there were Indians in the world because he had read about them in a book. The teacher wrote: "We may know of people by reading about them." Another boy knew that there were Chinese in the world because he had seen a Chinese. He spoke with an air of conviction that seemed to express disapproval of hearsay or books as evidence, and a new look of intelligence swept over the class. They had all seen a Chinese. The teacher wrote: "We may know of people by seeing them." Before this last statement had been put on the board the children were discussing the relative merits of the three ways that had been suggested of knowing about people. It was unanimously agreed that the Indians were the oldest people in the world, on the ground, as one member of the class put it, that "they are the first people we read about in school." This was the crudest piece of reasoning developed during the lesson. The children were told that the question was one which appeared to have been raised a long time ago in Egypt, for

a traveler who went there has told us a story about it. A line was drawn on the blackboard to represent ten years, the average age of the pupils. With this as a unit. the line was continued to represent a century. It was then extended century by century across the blackboard of three sides of the room until the twenty-five centuries back to Herodotus had been measured. In this way the children were at least made conscious that Herodotus lived a very long time ago. They had already heard of Egypt and had formed some impression of where Egypt is. The story as told by Herodotus was then read.

The Egyptians before the reign of their king Psammetichus believed themselves to be the oldest of mankind. Psammetichus, however, wished to find out if this was true. So he took two children of the common sort and gave them over to a herdsman to bring up, charging him to let no one speak a word in their presence, but to keep them in a cottage by themselves, and take to them food and look after them in other respects. His object herein was to know, after the first babblings of infancy were over, what word they would speak first. The herdsman did as he was told for two years, and at the end of that time on his opening the door of their room and going in, the children both ran up to him with outstretched arms and called, "Becos." When this first happened, the herdsman took no notice; but afterwards when he observed on coming often to see them that the word was constantly in their mouths, he told the King and by his command brought the children into the King's presence. Psammetichus himself then heard them say the word, upon which he proceeded to ask what people there were who had anything they called "Becos." Hereupon he learned that Becos was the Phrygian word for bread. The Egyptians then gave up claiming that they were the oldest people in the world and agreed that the Phrygians were older than they.

Children, even in a fourth grade, will readily anticipate the later steps in this story, if given the opportunity. In a fifth or sixth grade they are almost sure to raise on their own motion objections to the conclusion which the Egyptians are alleged to have drawn from the experiment. Discussion is almost sure to lead some one to suggest that the story is probably not true, and to ask if Herodotus really thought it was true, or expected anybody else to think so. This naturally raises the question of where Herodotus got the story anyway. The reading is resumed:

That these were the real facts, I learned at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks told other stories of how the children were brought up, but the priests said that the bringing up was as I have stated it. I got much other information from conversation with these priests while I was at Memphis and I even went to Heliopolis and to Thebes expressly to try whether the priests of those places would agree in their accounts with the priests at Memphis.¹

The children thus see at once that Herodotus knew of the experiment credited to Psammetichus only through "hearing about it." With this introduction children so fortunate as to be allowed to travel for some weeks afterward with Herodotus are found to be more or less on the alert to discover when he is talking about things that he has really seen and when he is talking about things that he has merely heard or read. Work thus begun with Herodotus may easily be extended so as to include along with information about the Greeks and Romans some impression of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus.

For an initial exercise in American history in raising the question of how we know, the adventures of the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* furnish material of similar grade for devising an introduction to Bradford's work, which may then be followed somewhat after the manner proposed for Herodotus. The story of the manuscript is told in the edition published by the state of Massachusetts and, more briefly, in the edition included in the *Original Narratives* series published by Scribner's Sons. Materials for extending the work to other writers of the colonial period may be found in Higginson's *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*.

When the stage is reached at which children begin to use formal textbooks, these may serve as the point of departure for occasional illustration of how histories are made. It is the duty of teachers to point out recognized errors. Incidentally, this may be turned to account in showing what is really involved in getting at the truth about a matter in history. In the seventh grade the colonial period is usually treated for the first time with some

¹ Herodotus, Book II, 2, 3. Slightly adapted.

degree of seriousness. Probably no subject of equal importance in that period has been dealt with so carelessly by textbook writers as that of colonial boundaries. This subject is as likely as any to furnish ground in need of being cleared up by the teacher. It may therefore be allowed to supply an illustration.

A well-known textbook has the following account of the boundary provisions of the charter of 1606:

To the London Company the king granted the coast of North America about from Cape Fear to the mouth of the Potomac; to the Plymouth Company he granted the coast about from Long Island to Nova Scotia. These grants were to go in straight strips, or zones, across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific (for so little was known about North American geography that a good many people believed the continent up here to be no wider than in Mexico). As for the middle strip, starting from the coast between the Potomac and the Hudson, it was open to the two companies, with the understanding that neither was to plant a colony within 100 miles of any settlement already begun by the other. This meant practically that it was likely to be controlled by whichever company should first come into the field with a flourishing colony. This made it worth while to act promptly.

An average seventh grade can read and interpret this paragraph. Several textbooks have maps showing the parallel strips running across the continent. If the particular text in use does not contain such a map, pupils can readily work one out on the board with the assistance of the teacher. How did the writer of this paragraph know that the boundaries were as he has described them? Let the class make suggestions. A little discussion will prepare the way for reference to the charter itself. The charter may then be studied in the manner indicated in the chapter on the use of maps.

The study will naturally conclude with a comparison of the two maps. Can both be right? Which is wrong? Compare with the map, if there is one in the textbook that may be in the hands of the class. It should be said that the textbook quoted has a footnote explaining that the sea to sea provision was added by the charter of 1609. But even that charter did not provide for "straight strips, or zones."

Whether a textbook is right or wrong in the matter, the difference between taking the textbook conclusion ready-made and taking our own conclusions worked out from the charter itself is the difference between learning the answer to a problem and working the problem. A single exercise of this kind, by giving an impression of the nature of the problem, makes any later reference to boundary questions in the colonies more intelligible.

The question asked of the charter was merely, "What does it mean?" The source was accepted as authoritative. Other sources raise the further question, "Is it true?" For an exercise involving the latter, a seventh grade may be asked to find out whether Pocahontas did or did not save the life of Captain John Smith. The teacher may first read the following extract from Smith's *True Relation*, an account written in 1607.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, their Emperour proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foote high, upon tenne or twelve Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and covered with a great Covering of Rahaughcums. At heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting uppon a Matte uppon the ground, were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades over their shoulders, their heade painted in redde: and with such a grave and Majesticall countenance as drove me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure days.¹

This may be followed by Smith's later description of the same scene, first published in 1624.

At last they brought him to Meronocomo, where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beeene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house,

¹ *Narratives of Early Virginia*, New York, 1907, p. 48. Volume in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner's, 1906-1919.

two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds: but everyone with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreayt could prevale, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper.¹

Can both accounts be true? The publisher of the *True Relation* says in the preface: "Somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke."² Might this have included the death sentence and the rescue by Pocahontas? Or might Smith have been so occupied with other matters when he was writing in 1608 that it did not occur to him to mention the narrow escape from death? In 1616 Pocahontas, then the wife of John Rolfe, went to England, where she attracted much attention. Might Smith then have been reminded that he owed his life to her, or did he merely make up the story to attract attention to himself? Pocahontas died in 1617. A story not unlike that told by Smith in 1624 had appeared in English in 1609, in a narrative of the expedition of De Soto. Juan Ortiz was, like Smith, captured by Indians and brought before their chief. "By command of Ucita, Juan Ortiz was bound hand and foot to four stakes, . . . that he might be burned; but a daughter of the chief entreated that he might be spared. Though one Christian, she said, might do no good, certainly he could do no harm, and it would be an honour to have one for a captive; to which the father acceded, directing the

¹ *General Historie of Virginia*, in *Travels of Captaine John Smith*, Glasgow, 1907, I, 101.

² *Narratives of Early Virginia*, New York, 1907, p. 31.

injuries to be healed."¹ Might Smith have read this story and remembered it in rewriting the account of his own adventures? His own account of how he was saved by Pocahontas is the sole source of information confirming the incident.

Such exercises require some skill in presentation, but, when well managed, stimulate thought and excite a high degree of interest. A sixth grade, asked to find out if gunpowder was used at the battle of Crécy, became so engrossed with the problem that the teacher, who had at first protested against such work for "poor little minds," a few days later complained that the same "poor little minds" in their enthusiasm for the gunpowder question were neglecting more important work. A seventh grade discussing, the last period of the school day, the evidence for the Pocahontas story begged to have the period extended. The concession was granted and the discussion went on until four o'clock — thirty minutes of voluntary staying after school.

But is there not danger of making children skeptical beyond their years, unduly wise, and even "bumptious"? Apparently not. The usual lesson which they seem to learn is that one must work very hard to find out the truth about the past. It is besides not at all necessary that every look behind a history should open up a controversy. It is, in fact, desirable that some of the stories investigated should be found indisputably true. The question of how we know requires illustration of what we really know as well as of what we ought really only to suspect or openly to doubt.

The general distinction between primary and secondary sources is easily made. The pupil has but to ask, "Was the author there, or did he get his information by reading or by hearing about the matter?" This directs attention in a simple way to the fact that secondary writers now usually cite their authorities. Children early show an interest in knowing something about the authors of histories and of their methods of work. It was a sixth-grade girl who, after looking for certain facts in Einhard's *Charlemagne* and in Emerton's *Introduction to*

¹ *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, New York, 1907. Volume in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner's, New York, 1906-1919.

the Middle Ages. wanted to know if Einhard and Emerton lived at the same time. A seventh grade can be introduced to some of the mysteries of checking up a secondary writer. The teacher may read from Fiske's *Discovery of America*:

The narrative upon which our account of the Vinland voyages is chiefly based belongs to the class of historical sagas. It is the Saga of Eric the Red, and it exists in two different versions, of which one seems to have been made in the north, the other in the west of Iceland. The western version is the earlier and in some respects the better. It is found in two vellums, that of the great collection known as *Hauksbók* (AM. 544), and that which is simply known as AM. 557 from its catalogue number. . . . Of these the former, which is the best preserved, was written in a beautiful hand by Hauk Erlendsson, between 1305 and 1334, the year of his death. This western version is the one which has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni." It is the one to which I have most frequently referred in the present chapter.

The northern version is that which was made about the year 1387 by the priest Jón Thórdharson, and contained in the famous compilation known as the *Flateyar-bók*, or "Flat Island Book." This priest was editing the saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson, which is contained in that compilation, and inasmuch as Leif Ericsson's presence at King Olaf's court was connected both with the introduction of Christianity into Greenland and with the discovery of Vinland, Jón paused, after the manner of mediæval chroniclers, and inserted then and there what he knew about Eric and Leif and Thorfinn. . . . Jón's version . . . has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Eric the Red."¹

The teacher may then read:

One of the men who accompanied Eric to Greenland was named Herjulf, whose son Bjarni, after roving the seas for some years, came home to Iceland in 986 to drink the Yuletide ale with his father. Finding him gone, he weighed anchor and started after him to Greenland, but encountered foggy weather, and sailed on for many days by guess-work without seeing sun or stars. When at length he sighted land it was a shore without mountains, showing only small heights covered with dense woods. It was evidently not the land of fiords and glaciers for which Bjarni was looking. So without stopping to make explorations he turned his prow to the north and kept on. The sky was now fair, and after scudding nine or ten days with a brisk breeze astern, Bjarni saw the icy crags of Greenland looming up before him, and after

¹ Fiske, John, *Discovery of America*, Boston, 1892, I, 198-199.

some further searching found his way to his father's new home. On the route he more than once sighted land on the larboard.

The narrative then relates how Leif, the son of Eric the Red, "stimulated by what he had heard about Bjarni's experiences," went out to explore the lands which Bjarni had seen and thus came upon what is now supposed to have been our own continent.¹

Which version has here been followed? The teacher reads from the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni:

Leif went to the court of King Olaf Tryggvason. He was well received by the king, who felt that he could see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments. Upon one occasion the king came to speech with Leif, and asks him, "Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland in the summer?" "It is my purpose," said Leif, "if it be your will." "I believe it will be well," answers the king, "and thither thou shalt go upon my errand, to proclaim Christianity there." Leif replied that the king should decide, but gave it as his belief that it would be difficult to carry this mission to a successful issue in Greenland. The king replied that he knew of no man who would be better fitted for this undertaking, "and in thy hands the cause will surely prosper." "This can only be," said Leif, "if I enjoy the grace of your protection." Leif put to sea when his ship was ready for the voyage. For a long time he was tossed about upon the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously had no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees there which are called "mausur," and of all these they took specimens.

Leif eventually reached Greenland and proclaimed Christianity. There was "much talk about a voyage of exploration to that country which Leif had discovered," and Thorstein Ericsson led an expedition to explore it. The expedition was, however, unsuccessful. Later "Karlsefni and Snorri fitted out their ship, for the purpose of going in search of that country in the spring. Biarni and Thorhall joined the expedition with their ship." This expedition was successful and Wineland was thus definitely revealed.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 162-164. Note, Bjarni is spelled Biarni in *Original Narratives*, see next reference.

² *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, New York, 1906, pp. 25, 26, 31-44 Volume in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner's, New York, 1906-1919.

It is at once apparent that this is not the story told in the passage cited from Fiske. The teacher turns to the other version:

Biarni arrived with his ship at Eyrar [in Iceland] in the summer of the same year, in the spring of which his father had sailed away [for Greenland]. Biarni was much surprised when he heard this news, and would not discharge his cargo. His shipmates inquired of him what he intended to do, and he replied that it was his purpose to keep his custom and make his home for the winter with his father; "and I will take the ship to Greenland, if you will bear me company." They all replied that they would abide by his decision. Then said Biarni, "Our voyage must be regarded as foolhardy, seeing that no one of us has ever been in the Greenland Sea." Nevertheless they put out to sea when they were equipped for the voyage, and sailed for three days, until the land was hidden by the water, and then the fair wind died out, and north winds arose, and fogs, and they knew not whither they were drifting, and thus it lasted for many "dœgr." Then they saw the sun again, and were able to determine the quarters of the heavens; they hoisted sail, and sailed that "dœgr" through before they saw land. They discussed among themselves what land it could be, and Biarni said that he did not believe that it could be Greenland. They asked whether he wished to sail to this land or not. "It is my counsel," [said he], "to sail close to the land." They did so, and soon saw that the land was level and covered with woods, and that there were small hillocks upon it.

As they sailed on they saw land a second and a third time, but did not go ashore. When at last they reached Greenland and Biarni told of the lands which he had seen, "the people thought that he had been lacking in enterprise, since he had no report to give concerning these countries, and the fact brought him reproach." Leif, the son of Eric the Red, visited Biarni, bought a ship of him and sailed away to explore the land which Biarni had seen.¹

Here, evidently, is the version which Fiske has followed. The other, and older of the two versions, is regarded by critics as the more probable. Fiske himself says that it is the one to which he has "most frequently referred." Why, then, does he offer the Flat Island Book version?

¹ *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, New York, 1906, pp. 48-50. In *Original Narratives*.

The teacher who wishes to test a little further Fiske's use of the material may read what is said about Eric's lack of interest in Christianity and compare with references to the subject in the sagas. "Eric, it is said," writes Fiske, "preferred to go in the way of his fathers, and deemed boisterous Valhalla, with its cups of wassail, a place of better cheer than the New Jerusalem, with its streets of gold."¹ The sagas make no mention of "boisterous Valhalla" or the "New Jerusalem." In one place it is stated that "Eric was slow in forming the determination to forsake his old belief"; in another place, that he died before the introduction of Christianity; and in still another place, that he was actually baptized.²

Elementary exercises in putting facts together may be of two general kinds. The pupil may be asked to select from such facts as have been presented those that can be included under a given group name. Or he may be given a group of facts and asked to supply an appropriate group name. Exercises of either kind should suggest arrangements different from those already given in class or in the textbook. A seventh grade, after learning the origin of the name America, may be asked to find the discoverers of America. Usually they think of only one discoverer. The group name, "Discoverers of America," will suggest the Norsemen, Columbus, the Cabots, and Vespuccius, and give a somewhat different significance to their achievements. The exercise may be reversed. The achievements may be grouped and the class asked to supply a name for the group. Such exercises may begin as early as the fourth grade, and in the seventh and eighth grades may be extended to topics of larger scope, illustrating different modes of grouping, the chronological, the geographical, the logical, and combinations of the three. Pupils may be asked to prepare a chronology of discovery and exploration in America, 1000-1565, to group discoverers and explorers with reference to their nationality, with reference to the flag which they carried, with reference to the territory which they discovered or explored,

¹ Fiske, John, *Discovery of America*, Boston, 1892, I, 163.

² Reeves, Arthur M., *Finding of Wineland the Good*, London, 1895, pp. 36, 57, 60.

to put together facts illustrative of the relations between white men and Indians.

In the upper grades a beginning may be made also of exercises in which pupils consciously apply on their own initiative principles of selection and grouping. The problem may be to read a brief narrative, or parts of several narratives, to pick out the facts that seem to be the most important, and to put them together in the form of a connected story. Pupils trained to analyze and to rearrange their reading in the manner described in the chapter on the use of textbooks may be expected to make very acceptable reports on wisely selected readings.

All of the materials to which reference has thus far been made can be used also in the high school. They will, of course, not be used if the children have already worked out the problems in the elementary school. The difference is in the treatment. In the elementary school the teacher does most of the reading and directs attention to the problems by questioning. In the high school the pupil may himself do most of the reading and reach his conclusions with less direct guidance.

Work in the high school should include written exercises in which the pupil classifies his material, passes judgment upon its value for the topic under discussion, and gives specific references. It is well for these purposes to follow a fixed plan. A regular printed form with spaces for required data is convenient and can easily be made up to order by any printer. It may be a separate sheet or included on the first page of a folded sheet of any size desired. The following is an example:

STUDIES IN HISTORY

M. (Name of pupil). Subject.
Assigned (Insert date). Report (Insert date).
Number of pages read. . . . Time spent in preparation. . . .

REFERENCES

Sources
Secondary works
Personal impression of authors
Best single reference

In making assignments to individual pupils the teacher writes in the name of the pupil, the subject, the date of assignment, and the date for handing in the report. For some exercises the teacher indicates also the works to be consulted. Where there is to be general class discussion the subject should usually be the same for all and should be one that lends itself to brief treatment. The paper should either have a ruled margin or space at the bottom of the sheet for specific references for the body of the report. Two or three short papers in which the authorities are indicated, and two or three short papers and one paper of considerable length in which the pupils find their own authorities, will ordinarily be sufficient in any one year.

Subjects for such papers should be so stated as to call for definite conclusions. What boundaries were assigned to Virginia by the charter of 1609? Why was Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts? Who was the author of the Monroe doctrine? When and where did Henry Clay say that he would rather be right than be president? For the first independent quest for material it is sometimes convenient to assign brief extracts from standard works, with instructions to the pupil to trace the authority for the facts alleged to primary sources, to decide whether the facts are correctly reported in the extract assigned, and to describe just how he went to work to find his materials. The following are types of extracts that have been tested in this way:

One day Peisistratus appeared in his chariot in the popular assembly, covered with blood and alleging that he had been attacked and wounded. On the motion of Ariston the people resolved with the consent of the council to assign him a guard of fifty club men. He obtained more than fifty, and seized the citadel.

At length with great toil and peril Hannibal reached the summit, where he rested his men and cheered them with some such words as these: "Here on the summit of the Alps, we hold the citadel of Italy; below us on the south are our friends, the Gauls, who will supply us with provisions from their bountiful lands and will help us against their deadly foes; and yonder in the distance lies Rome."

[Death and burial of Alaric.] Now that their leader had died in an enemy's land they [the Germans] outdid themselves in showing him honour. They forced their Roman captives to divert the current of

the river Busento, in order that his grave should be undisturbed. Here in the bed of the stream, with rich treasures heaped around him, they laid him to rest. The water was turned back into its course, and the workmen were slain lest they should betray the secret.

Roger Williams. Born in Wales about 1600: died in Rhode Island, probably, in March or April, 1684.

[Battle of Crécy.] A small ditch protected the English front, and behind it the bowmen were drawn up "in the form of a harrow," with small bombards between them "which, with fire, threw little iron balls to frighten the horses" — the first instance of the use of artillery in field warfare.

[Inauguration of Jefferson, 1801.] Jefferson had resolved that no pageant should give the lie to his democratic principles, and accordingly he rode on horseback, clad in studiously plain clothes, without attendants, to the capitol, dismounted, tied his horse to the fence, and walked unceremoniously into the senate chamber.

It is sometimes useful to assign work of this kind before giving definite instruction and practice in the use of indexes, tables of contents, card catalogues, footnotes, lists of authorities in histories, bibliographical suggestions in encyclopedias, and special historical bibliographies. The result is likely to convince the pupil of the utility of such aids. But the instruction should at some time be definitely given and with it sufficient practice to insure a reasonable degree of facility. There should be special exercises in bibliography and at least one of the short papers in each year may be of this character. The subject must of course be one on which not too much has been written. The pupil may be shown a bibliography of Franklin or of Hamilton; he could scarcely be expected to make one. The subjects must usually be local celebrities not too celebrated, and local incidents or questions not too widely heralded, or, in the field at large, relatively obscure persons, incidents, and questions.

Any work in the high school involving comparisons of different accounts should be reduced to a definite system. The pupil should do more than read the accounts and report his general impressions. He should carefully tabulate point by point, either in parallel columns or on separate cards, each fact or opinion in the accounts and then compare point by point. It is only after careful training that impressions gained merely by reading are in any way

to be depended upon. Many intelligent persons overlook striking differences even in dealing with very familiar material. Classes made up of teachers have repeatedly failed, with the materials definitely before them, to detect any difference, except in phraseology, between the command to keep the Sabbath as stated in Deuteronomy v, 12-16, and in Exodus xx, 8-12.

The interest of pupils in problems designed to convey impressions of what is involved in arriving at the truth about the past will be stimulated by occasional reference to specific achievements of historical criticism. How did Lorenzo Valla prove the donation of Constantine a forgery?¹ How did Champollion decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics?² By what process was the famous story that "as the first thousand years of our calendar drew to an end, in every land of Europe the people expected with certainty the destruction of the world" shown to be a mere legend?³ How did Professor Dunning prove that George Bancroft wrote President Johnson's first annual message?⁴ Not only may an account of the problem and its solution be presented, but some of the steps in the solution may occasionally be taken in class. First-year pupils in the high school, knowing how Champollion reached the conclusion that a certain group of characters made up the name Ptolemy and another group the name Cleopatra, will, with the two groups placed upon the blackboard, themselves readily do a little deciphering. The names written in hieroglyphics are as follows:



¹ Coleman, Christopher Bush, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1914, pp. 191-199.

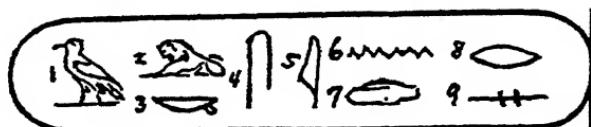
² Budge, E. A. Wallis, *The Mummy*, second edition, Cambridge, England, University Press, 1894, pp. 129-147.

³ *American Historical Review*, VI, 429-439.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 574-583.

The class may be asked to pick out the signs which are identical in the two groups and compare their positions with the letters in the names above each cartouche. Thus sign No. 1 in cartouche No. 1 is seen to be the same as sign No. 5 in cartouche No. 2. The first letter in Ptolemy is P and the fifth letter in Cleopatra is P. What is the natural inference? Before the comparison has been completed the class should be told that signs 10 and 11 always accompany feminine names.

With the characters thus discovered, the class may examine cartouche No. 3.



Knowing from cartouches Nos. 1 and 2 the signs 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8, the class may write out the equivalents in our own alphabet, leaving blank spaces for the unknown characters. They will then readily see how a scholar might at once surmise that the cartouche contains the name Alexander and that the values of three additional signs have been discovered. The teacher need not be surprised if, after such a lesson, a demand arises for signs sufficient to enable pupils to write their own names in hieroglyphics.¹ The exercise in a somewhat simplified form has been tried with success even in a sixth grade.

In considering the range of material available for school exercises in historical criticism, account should be taken of possibilities offered by microphotography. This invention, known since about 1870, has, in the present century, been so developed as to hold promise of eventually supplying for schools microcopies of material now inaccessible outside of great libraries and even there subject to restrictions which prevent any general use. Automatic cameras are now reproducing on moving film, at a cost of from half a cent to three cents per page, newspapers, books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Devices for reading the micro-

¹ For materials see Budge, E. A. Wallis, *The Mummy*, second edition, Cambridge, England, University Press, 1894, pp. 366-375.

copies and also for projection on a screen are multiplying and can be secured at a cost ranging from a few dollars to \$300. Scholars have been making considerable use of microcopies with various kinds of reading devices. Librarians have been considering the possibilities from the library point of view, and projects are now under way for filming large masses of material. In Minnesota, for example, Gratia Countryman has been directing the filming of a complete file of the *Minneapolis Evening Journal*. In Europe, microfilms of desired material can be secured from the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and numerous other great libraries; in the United States, from the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, the New York Public Library, the Library of Columbia University, and the Library of the University of Chicago. There is a growing literature on the subject, and a quarterly, *The Journal of Documentary Reproduction*, was founded in 1938 by the American Library Association.

Exercises in historical construction of the kind suggested for the elementary school may be continued in the high school, with the addition of some illustrations of historical organization drawn from the practice of historians. The principle of grouping facts according to kind and of arranging each kind in chronological order can be extended and used with profit as a basis for drill and review. The Indian question in the United States, the tariff, internal improvements, slavery, the money of the United States, and other similar topics, treated in this way, should each call up readily a procession of dates attended by associations that bring definitely into view the main facts relating to each topic so far as developed. This plan makes possible a variety of interesting studies of the relations of facts within a group to each other and to facts in other groups, studies which give to cause and effect in history a meaning quite different from that ordinarily conveyed by a ready-made enumeration of cause and effect.

If the burden imposed upon the memory by learning a considerable number of dates is considered too great, something similar in character can be accomplished by a distribution of topics. At the beginning of the year, say to A: "I want you to be our specialist on American slavery. As the work goes on you are

to enter in your notebook everything that has any bearing on slavery. You are to know definitely the dates, the situations, and their relations to other situations. Whenever we are in doubt on any question connected with slavery, we shall turn to you for information." Say to B: "You are to be our specialist on the tariff," and repeat the directions given for slavery. It is easy in this way to assign to each member of the class some special topic for which he is to be individually responsible throughout the year. Have the whole class copy all the tables compiled, but do not hold all responsible for all the tables. All will find these tables useful in general reviews where general reviews are required. All will obtain new light on the relations of facts to each other. The plan can be applied in developing the history of any country.

It is quite possible to leave the pupil at the end of his high school course with fairly definite impressions of history both as a process of establishing and organizing truth and as a body of organized truth. It is too much to expect to leave him with habits of investigation so firmly fixed and with a mind so open to historical evidence as to insure him against all future lapses from the historical treatment of historical data. There are too many melancholy examples of failure on the part even of highly trained historical specialists to apply the principles of historical science, to leave room for any such pious expectation. It is, however, permissible to hope that a tendency may be developed to treat ordinary data historical in character with some degree of discrimination. It is permissible to hope that a foundation may be laid for an intelligent appreciation of histories. It is something merely to be protected against the gilded historical rubbish so extensively advertised in periodicals and in special circulars, and so often commended by *ex officio* critics of the class vaguely described by book agents as the "best people." The "best people" may buy a ten-volume history of the world convinced of its enormous erudition by the statement in capital letters that it is "the most scholarly work of its time." It must be, for the author spent three whole years in preparing it. A graduate from a high school ought to know that ten-volume scholarship ranging over such a field and three years of preparation are hopelessly incompatible.

THE TREATMENT OF CURRENT EVENTS

IN 1676 Christian Weise suggested that the teaching of history should begin with current events and assumed that teachers would know what he meant. In the eighteenth century many school authorities made the teaching of current events a requirement and assumed that teachers would know what the requirement meant. In the United States the teaching of current events has become so common that it supports a vast output of periodical literature covering current events for schools. But current events are still left, even by makers of dictionaries, to define themselves.

What is a current event? In the vague language of popular discussion it may seem to be something that is now going on. It may even seem to be something that is going to be. "Coming events cast their shadows before" in newspaper or other announcements, and the shadows at least are current. But before a thing can be an actual event it must have happened, and after it has happened it is a part of the past. A current event is, then, an event of recent occurrence. How recent? In the varied practice of schools current events may be events of yesterday recorded in daily newspapers, events of a week ago recorded in weekly publications, events of a month ago recorded in monthly publications. Sometimes events of three months ago recorded in quarterly publications, and even events of a year ago recorded in yearbooks, are regarded as current events. At what age does an event cease to be a current event and take on the dignity or indignity of history? Any approach to history through current events implies that somewhere there is a line to be crossed. On one side of the line events are current events; on the other side of the line events are history. The line is made important by an assumption, old and yet always new, that current events function *because* they are *current* and that history can function only to the extent to

which it is determined by current events. But if the distinguishing feature of history is its indirect method of arriving at knowledge, it is not the age of an event that makes it history; it is the method of arriving at knowledge of the event. The line between what we call current events and what we call history is crossed where our own direct observation of events ceases. Beyond that line all is history the instant it happens; beyond that line knowledge can be acquired only by the historical method; beyond that line the study of events in any sense "current" is a study of history.

The historical method, while inescapable in the study of current events, may be, and usually has been, applied without conscious recognition and only in part. Thus applied it has yielded much critical interpretation of given facts without touching the question of how the given facts were established. An outstanding example is offered by the procedure of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, organized in 1937 and now enlisting the coöperation of "approximately 500 high schools and colleges and adult groups in churches, forums, and various civic associations." The general nature of the procedure may be gathered from an address by Clyde R. Miller on *How to detect and analyze Propaganda*. Professor Miller establishes propaganda by definition and then looks at samples in the historical way, but arrives at his method through personal experience and reflection and gives no hint of awareness that he is traversing ground occupied by treatises on historical methodology. From given facts he arrives by interpretation at other facts. That is a legitimate application of the historical method. But the validity of facts thus established depends upon the validity of the given facts, and this aspect of the historical method Professor Miller fails specifically to note.¹

When, in 1939, a declared state of war in Europe was only three days old, we were cautioned over the radio by the President of the United States and by various news commentators to be sure of our facts before we began to interpret them. Some radio commen-

¹ Professor Miller's address was delivered at the Town Hall, New York City, February 20, 1939, and is published as *A Town Hall Pamphlet*. For facts concerning the Institute, see p. 22 of the pamphlet.

tators even unconsciously suggested fragmentary applications of the historical method in telling us how to test the information streaming from Europe. Similar suggestions appeared in newspaper editorials. This was highly useful service and should by all means be continued throughout the war and afterward. We have grown familiar with the parting salute of radio news reporters, "For further particulars, see your newspapers." With radio commentators and newspapers teaching us the rules and principles of historical criticism, it may become sufficient to say to teachers of current events, "For further particulars, see your treatises on historical methodology." Teachers will then be prepared, and in a mood, consciously to apply to school instruction in current events the rules and principles of historical criticism.

That school instruction should cultivate a critical attitude toward current events has now become axiomatic in educational discussions in the United States. But this usually seems to imply only a critical interpretation of given facts. Accounts of current events in daily newspapers or weekly or monthly publications seem in general to be treated as assured knowledge, to be learned and recited like a textbook, or to be presented by individual pupils in special reports, or to be read and discussed in class. Pupils interpret the given facts, look for hidden motives, approve or disapprove of policies, actions, incidents, circumstances, appearances. Opinions flow freely. Seventh-grade pupils may disagree with the President of the United States, and even with their teacher. A critical attitude toward the interpretation of facts is thus undoubtedly cultivated. But this attitude can be acquired without acquiring any discrimination in estimating degrees of probability in the facts which are interpreted. We can be highly critical in our interpretation and quite uncritical in what we accept as fact, and our conclusions will then scarcely deserve to be called critical. An uncritical attitude toward what is accepted as fact is responsible for much that is wrong with the world.

Did things happen as reported? Did he, she, or they actually say or do what is reported? Some teachers are already bringing these questions within the experience of pupils. Can any training that ignores these questions be called critical?

People unable to read, but able to hear oral reports, have special reasons for acquaintance with the vagaries of oral tradition. But even people who are able to read derive a large part of their information about current events from oral tradition. If we check our own individual experience, we shall probably find that in most of our casual conversation with fellow mortals, barring exchanges on health and the weather, we are either receiving or transmitting oral tradition about current events. It is therefore important, though not always diplomatic, to be aware of the limitations of oral tradition.

Foundations for this awareness can be laid in the lower grades of the elementary school. Children begin early to discuss what "he said" or "she said" that somebody else said or did this morning or yesterday or last week, and through such experiences can be made conscious of the nature of oral tradition and of what happens to oral tradition as it travels. Said John to Fred: "I thought I saw a bear in the woods yesterday, and my, did I run! But my father said it was only a big black stump." Said Fred to Dick: "Did you hear about John? He thought he saw a bear in the woods yesterday and ran all the way home." Said Dick to James: "Did you hear about John? He was chased by a bear yesterday and isn't over his scare yet." Said James to Charles: "Did you hear about John? He was almost caught by a bear. The bear chased him for a mile. He ran so fast that he lost his hat." The desirability of getting the story from John himself can be grasped by a child of six. Older children may look at John himself rather critically and wonder if even what John says is true. Above a sixth grade, pupils may need to be told only that when they are tracking down stories about each other they are tracking down oral tradition. They have doubtless often asked each other: "Who told you that?" and have thus taken the first step in the criticism of oral tradition. They have doubtless in some cases of personal concern traced oral tradition to its source with significant results. A class period devoted to exchanging such experiences may bring out all that is essential in dealing with oral tradition. For the next day pupils may be asked to list in one column all the events of yesterday,

great and small, that they hear about during the day and in another column all the events of yesterday, great and small, that they read about, and at the end of the day count the number of events in each column. The results may stimulate interest in the appraisal of oral tradition and invite useful thinking about such familiar citations of sources as "Jones tells me," "Mrs. Brown says," "I see by the papers," "I heard a man say," and "It is said."

Reading about current events is so generally associated with newspapers that current events may be regarded as synonymous with news. Newspapers in the sense of publications devoted to general news and appearing at regular intervals date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The *Acta Diurni* posted in the Forum gave ancient Romans official news. Copies were sometimes sent to the provinces, and a disputed passage in Juvenal (IX, 84) has been interpreted as implying some circulation of private copies. The Chinese as early as the sixth century A.D. appear to have had something like a newspaper in a monthly publication devoted to official news. In Europe the writing of news letters had become a regular profession before the invention of printing, and to some extent still persists. With the printing press established, printed news pamphlets began to appear as occasional publications and still appear when individuals or organizations wish to present special kinds of news which may have been omitted from newspapers or reported in a manner unsatisfactory to those who issue the pamphlets. But to qualify as a newspaper a publication must appear at regular intervals, and this step, as taken in the seventeenth century, marked the beginning of what we now recognize as newspapers. It was the existence of newspapers in Germany in 1676 that turned the attention of Weise to the use of current events in the teaching of history. Government restrictions on printed periodicals were, however, so severe that written news-letters continued to circulate and were only gradually supplanted by newspapers.

The ideal of truth in the news and the difficulty of attaining truth found early expression. "In one thing only will I yield to nobody," announced the founder of the *Gazette de France* in 1631,

"I mean the endeavour to get at the truth. At the same time I do not always guarantee it, being convinced that among five hundred dispatches written in haste from all countries it is impossible to escape passing something from one correspondent to another which will require correction by Father Time."¹ As newspapers multiplied, Father Time no doubt found more and more to correct, and even today, with all the marvelous checks on accuracy now possible, is kept very busy.

That newspapers are lacking in veracity is an old charge, and one with which we are quite familiar in the United States. Throughout our history since the eighteenth century there have been readers, especially readers in public life, who have denounced newspapers. Their most violent feelings were expressed by President Jefferson in 1807 in language which to some readers may still seem pertinent. Answering a letter, Jefferson wrote:

To your request of my opinion of the manner in which a newspaper should be conducted, so as to be most useful, I should answer, "by restraining it to true facts & sound principles only." Yet I fear such a paper would find few subscribers. It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens, who, reading newspapers, live & die in the belief, that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. General facts may indeed be collected from them, such as that Europe is now at war, that Bonaparte has been a successful warrior, that he has subjected a great portion of Europe to his will, &c., &c., but no details can be relied on. I will add, that a man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with

¹ Quoted by Salmon, Lucy M., *The Newspaper and the Historian*, New York, 1923, p. 10.

falsehoods & errors. He who reads nothing will still learn the great facts, and the details are all false.¹

It is of course absurd for anyone to say that he believes nothing which he reads in newspapers. It is equally absurd to believe everything. It is not less absurd to believe only what we want to believe. The cultivation of a more intelligent attitude should begin as soon as children begin to read newspapers.

Where there is a school paper, discrimination in the reading of news may begin with the school news in the latest issue of that paper. As early at least as the seventh grade, pupils may be asked: Are the things reported in this number of our school paper really true? Did he, she, or they really say or do what is reported? Individual items may be assigned to individual pupils with instructions to find out what those who did or saw the things think of what is reported. Sometimes the only witness will be the one that the item is about. If he says that the report is untrue, what is to be done about it? Sometimes a pupil will say of his item: "I was there" and at once declare the item true. Is that enough or should there be talk with other witnesses? If some other witnesses say that the item is true and some say that it is untrue, what is to be done about it? In the course of the discussion evidence and the weight of evidence should become intelligible and familiar terms. The outcome of the discussion is likely to be that some items are found to be wholly true, some only partly true, and some uncertain. Having thus read with discrimination the school news in the school paper, pupils may pass to the general local news in a newspaper.

Where there is no school paper, a preliminary exercise with evidence and the weight of evidence may take the form of having pupils "write up" exactly what happened during a lesson or at a school entertainment or in some other series of events of which all of them were witnesses. Points of agreement and disagreement revealed by comparison of the reports will raise questions similar to those raised by the school paper, and furnish equally desirable preparation for dealing with local news in a newspaper.

¹ Quoted by Salmon, Lucy M., *op. cit.*, pp. 425-426.

In a small community with a local newspaper, a study can easily be made of how the local paper gets its local news. The editor, if invited, will usually be glad to coöperate. A class may visit the newspaper plant and learn from the editor himself how he "does it." He will probably not betray people so willing to see their names in the paper that they send or bring in person accounts of their activities. He may name people who always have something for him when he stops to ask: "What do you know?" He may explain that much comes to him when he seems to be only loafing in the corner drugstore or along the street exchanging remarks with passers-by. He may talk freely about the difficulty of getting any information at all about some things and the general difficulty of getting things "exactly right." If he employs reporters, he may explain what is needed to make a good reporter. In school, with copies of the local paper before them, pupils may pick out items that they know about because they "were there," or that their parents know about because they "were there," and compare their own impressions or the impressions of their parents with the accounts in the paper. Such comparison may reveal differences which suggest that either the newspaper or the memories of pupils or parents must be at fault. Managed with discretion, selected pupils may then be sent to interview known witnesses in the town. If the newspaper contains no items of which pupils or their parents have direct knowledge, interviews with witnesses will naturally be the first step. In any case, points on which all of the witnesses agree will of course be accepted as fact. Points on which the witnesses disagree must be settled, if at all, by the weight of evidence. Here some pupil may suggest that what Mr. A says is worth more than what all of the other witnesses together may say. This may stir another pupil to suggest that what Mr. B says is worth more than what Mr. A says. Other witnesses may then find defenders. The bias of friendships, loyalties, and family ties may become angrily apparent. Such a situation, if created, will be typical of situations which have been used as arguments against training children to be critical. The whole proceeding may seem preposterous, or at least unwise and unfair. But children without

training begin, before they reach a seventh grade, to raise the question of credibility about each other, and even about their elders, including teachers. Samples ranging from "I don't believe it" to "You're a liar" may be gathered on almost any playground. In conversations among children the question of what to believe is often determined wholly by the question of who said it. That experience of this kind should prompt pupils to balance witnesses against each other in a class exercise which directly invites it is to be expected and desired. Accompanied by analysis and appraisal of pupil equipment for decided opinions about witnesses, discussion can usually be so managed as to avoid scandal.

Each item should be approached with the question: "Is it true?" The answer may be a positive "yes," a positive "no," or only a state of uncertainty. The three types of answers are equally desirable, and it is desirable that all of them should appear in the experience.

Visits to newspaper plants in large cities are more complicated but entirely feasible. The great newspapers have guides who at regular intervals conduct visitors through various departments and explain things. A school class can usually make a special appointment for a visit and for a lecture by a representative of the paper, with opportunities for questions by the class. Even in a large city there may be local news which pupils can check by interviewing witnesses with results similar to those obtained in a small community.

A simpler exercise, and one feasible in any community, is to have a class attend in a body, with notebooks in hand, some public meeting important enough to suggest that it will probably be described in detail in the newspapers. A seventh grade should be provided with an outline of what to note. A class in the senior high school may be told merely to take careful notes. If accounts do appear in the newspapers, pupils may compare their notes with the longest newspaper account. Usually there will be disagreement with some of the details in the newspaper. Usually there will also be disagreement among pupils about some details. Judged by the details on which all of the pupils agree, are the

details in the newspaper true? Judged by the weight of evidence, are the details in the newspaper true? Here, as in the interviewing exercises, the answers to be expected are in part a positive "yes," in part a positive "no," and in part a state of uncertainty.

The results of a single exercise are not of course to be taken as proof of general accuracy or inaccuracy in the treatment of local news by a newspaper. Pupils will readily see that much further checking, extending over a number of issues of a newspaper, would be necessary to justify any generalizing about it. Sometimes an exercise will prove so intriguing that pupils will suggest further checking. It might be interesting thus to establish a general reputation for the newspaper most familiar to pupils. But the primary purpose is not to judge a newspaper; it is merely to bring within the experience of pupils a process, and for that purpose a single exercise will be sufficient.

Attention may next turn to a newspaper's indications of its sources. For most local news the only indications may be those found in the body of news articles. In large cities there is, however, much specialization in local news, and expert reporters of special kinds of news may have their names attached to news articles. Names of special reporters of baseball or football or prize fights or screen performances may be cited as examples likely to be familiar to some pupils. For other than local news, pupils will readily find three general kinds of indications:

(1) Labels that point to special but unnamed correspondents: "Special to the Times," "Special telegram to the Times," "Special cable to the Times," "Wireless to the Times," etc.

(2) Labels that point to news associations: "AP," "UP," "By the Associated Press," "By the United Press," "International News Service," "Reuter," "Havas," etc.

(3) Named correspondents.

Anonymous "specials" from a small community offer in that community occasion for asking selected pupils to find out who the correspondents of outside newspapers are. What is thus learned may invite special scrutiny of all anonymous "specials" from small communities. For anonymous "specials" from large cities it is usually safe to assume trained reporters.

Associations for the gathering and distribution of news began to be important more than a century ago and are now in evidence throughout the world. Such an association may cover the general news of a single city, the general news of a single country, special kinds of news in varying areas, the general news of the entire world; it may be under Government control; it may be a coöperative organization for the exchange of news between members and under the control of members; it may be a corporation organized to gather and sell news for profit. For the general facts about news agencies, pupils may consult encyclopedias. Teachers may read the critical discussion in *The Newspaper and the Historian* by Lucy M. Salmon.¹ News associations issue much descriptive material which can be had for the asking. In a large city there may be offices maintained by such associations. The telephone book will show what associations are thus represented and where the offices are. A teacher making the rounds will usually receive courteous attention and documentary material. Up-to-date information may also be secured at the office of almost any newspaper that uses the service of news associations.

In the United States, the outstanding associations are the Associated Press and the United Press. As these are the associations most frequently cited in newspapers likely to be used in American schools, American pupils should have some fairly definite information about them. They should know that the Associated Press is a coöperative organization for the exchange of news between members, now including about 1300 newspapers, and that the United Press is a corporation organized to sell news for profit and now selling news to about 900 newspapers in the United States and about 350 in foreign countries. They should know that the ambition of each of these associations is to have a reporter wherever in the entire world news may "break" and to secure accurate and impartial stories regardless of obstacles or costs.² Other matters to which attention may be called include

¹ New York, 1923. See Chapter V.

² An article in the *Detroit Free Press* of November 5, 1933, reprinted by the Associated Press, records that when Gandhi was released from prison in India the first person to greet him was a correspondent of the Associated Press. "When I stand at the gates of heaven," said Gandhi, "I suppose the first person I'll see will

the number of full-time reporters employed by each association, the miles of wire used by each, the total number of words in the daily (24 hours) output of news by each, the apportionment of news among newspapers according to individual needs and ability to pay, and the total cost to each association of its entire service.

The best indications of news sources may seem to be the names of the reporters. Such indications have in recent years shown a marked tendency to increase.¹ Our great newspapers, while avail-ing themselves of the full service of the A. P. or the U. P. or both, have expert correspondents of their own in the chief cities of the world and often publish more news under the names of such corre-spondents than under the names of news associations. Responsi-bility for news is thus definitely fixed. But certain questions remain. Given a named reporter, what does the name tell us? Do we know anything about the named reporter? If not, can we learn anything about the named reporter? Pupils may consult *Who's Who*. If we can learn nothing about the named reporter, is the name important? Is news reported by a named reporter more likely to be true than other news? Why?

Passing to what is reported, we ask of news whether wholly anonymous or carrying any label from anonymous "Special" to named reporters: How did the reporter know? Was he a witness of what he reports? Does he tell only what he himself observed? Did he talk with some other witness? Did he talk with more than one witness? Does he report conflicting evidence or only his own conclusions? If the reporter was not a witness, how did he get the news? From some one who was a witness? from several wit-nesses? from some one who had only "heard about it"? from several such persons? Was the reporter's source a document, that is, something in writing or print? Did he read the document or only "hear" about it? All of these questions are of course to be understood as inclusive of women reporters.

be a correspondent for the A.P." "He will," adds the writer of the story, and continues: "And I have no doubt that if so deplorable a thing should happen that he be sent in the other direction, there, too, he will find an A.P. man on the job." Incidents of similar import have been recorded by the United Press.

¹ In *PM*, which announces itself as "a new kind of newspaper," the name of the reporter is always given.

Such questions applied to selected news should be so impressed that pupils will habitually ask them. They are questions that the critical reader of news is constantly asking. The answers in many cases appear in the body of the news. The reporter names his sources. Where no direct indications appear, analysis of the report will often suggest the nature of its sources. Where analysis reveals no indications, the reader may guess from the nature of the news at any source from innocent Dame Rumor to the anonymous manufacture of some deliberate liar.

After analysis of a news report will come comparison with at least one other report of different origin. An Associated Press report may be compared with a United Press report. A report by one named correspondent may be compared with a report by another named correspondent. Things on which two or more independent reports agree may be accepted as fact. Things on which they disagree must be settled, if at all, by the weight of evidence. If the source is a document, comparison will of course be with the document. For most news the only possible checking of facts will be through comparisons between different reports or comparisons with documents.

Another step in school exercises with news will be to examine the selection of news by a newspaper and the allotment of space to different kinds of news. Through individual assignments all the news of a day in a newspaper may be classified geographically and according to kind. How much of the news is about the home town of the newspaper? How much is about the home state? How much is about other parts of the United States? How much is about other parts of the world? Passing from geographical distribution to kinds of news, how much of the news is about government and politics? How much is about science and education? How much is about religion? How much is about sports? How much is about accidents and crimes? Other kinds of news will readily suggest themselves, but exhaustive classification is not necessary. Three or four kinds of news may sufficiently illustrate a newspaper's selection and apportionment of news. Each pupil will report on one question, and the results will be compared in class. In the junior high school it is usually wise to confine

assignments to a single newspaper, leaving the teacher to make such comparisons with other newspapers as the teacher's time for investigation may permit. In the senior high school half a dozen or more newspapers of different types and from different cities may be used — papers, for example, from New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. If such papers are not locally available, copies can easily be secured from the publishers. They should all, of course, be of the same date. Assignments can be so adjusted that, while each pupil is made responsible for only one question about one newspaper, all of the newspapers will be covered, and comparisons can then be made in class, question by question. A single day's news in half a dozen newspapers is not to be taken as conclusive of any universal law in the newspaper world. Geographical distribution, kinds of news, and proportions naturally vary from day to day with news that happens to "break." But a single day's news, even in a single newspaper, classified by pupils, will give them an experience calculated to make more intelligible the generalizations of others about the selection of news by newspapers, the relation between the selection of news and the treatment of news, and the motives behind the selection of news.

Criticism of newspapers has from the beginning found the chief motive behind the selection and treatment of news by this or that newspaper to be propaganda. This is a subject which in the last twenty years has reached large proportions in the consciousness of Americans and which, in the United States, is now being widely, systematically, politically, psychologically, historically, and sometimes hysterically explored.

Propaganda may be regarded broadly as any advocacy of a "cause," or narrowly as any advocacy of a "cause" of which we disapprove. In either case the advocacy may be open and avowed or concealed. Open advocacy may be regarded as propaganda only when we suspect improper motives. A search for concealed advocacy may in all cases be regarded as a search for propaganda. Much news may thus escape classification as propaganda. What is regarded as propaganda may, however, be more inclusive. "A little more than a year ago," said Professor Miller in the address to which reference has already been made, "a group of

scholars organizing the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, after a good many hours of argument, arrived at this definition: 'As generally understood, propaganda is an expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups, deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to pre-determined ends.'"¹ The determining factor in classification thus appears to be intent to influence opinion or action. On this basis, without violence to the plain meaning of intent, almost anything in a newspaper may be regarded as propaganda. Even the subscription rates may be regarded as propaganda. Indeed, since one intent of every newspaper is to secure and retain subscribers, the whole make-up of a newspaper may be regarded as propaganda. Simpler but equally inclusive definitions have entered dictionaries.

However propaganda may be defined by scholars or by others, it is clear that we have become nationally suspicious of propaganda and that the contradictory reports now reaching us from countries at war are daily making us more suspicious. "We are fooled by propaganda chiefly because we don't recognize it when we see it," says Professor Miller, and to help us recognize it names "seven common propaganda devices."² The more we are helped, the more suspicious we are likely to become. This is no doubt in many cases desirable. But after we have detected propaganda are we to dismiss all the facts alleged as "nothing but propaganda"? That is scarcely intelligent. Propaganda is not necessarily the manufacture of confirmed liars, and even confirmed liars occasionally tell the truth. The establishment of propaganda by inference from "common propaganda devices" is one thing; the appraisal of facts alleged in such devices is quite a different thing. It is beyond doubt important to ask of news: Is it propaganda? Is it not also important to ask: Is the propaganda founded on facts which can be checked? No new problems are raised by the second of these questions. All that is involved is the process of checking news in general.

It is inevitable that news should be subject to propagandist control — control by government, control by big business, con-

¹ *A Town Hall Pamphlet*, New York, 1939, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

trol by labor, control by parties and factions, control by "isms" of pressure groups, control by editorial policies, ideologies, and pet aversions.

In most countries government control of news has been so exercised as to make a really "free press" impossible. Extreme examples of such control have in recent years been furnished by Russia, Germany, and Italy. The most notable exceptions have been the United States and Great Britain. In the United States, governments have their own publicity agents and indulge freely in propaganda, some of which our great news associations may be under pressure to distribute and our great newspapers may be under pressure to publish. In wartime, pressure may approach control. There may be much "inspired" news, some suppression of news, some censorship of news. In Great Britain this may be true in a higher degree. Even the great British news association known as Reuter, in time of peace so free from government interference and so bent on cold accuracy as to be almost an article of faith, is in time of war under suspicion. But in the United States and Great Britain such government control of news as may be exercised in time of war or other great emergency is understood to be temporary. In both countries the tradition of a "free press" is so firmly established that in ordinary times, apart from laws defining indecency, libel, and treason, newspapers may print, without government interference, any truth or any lie about anything in creation. With the latitude allowed in the United States, a newspaper may, so far as the Government is concerned, be about what it wants to be for financial or other reasons. It may conform to the highest standards of conventional respectability and good taste. It may, on the other hand, pander to the gutter tastes of humanity and under screaming headlines magnify the ultra-sensational, the morbid, and the filthy things of life. The presence in school of pupils from homes where only "yellow" newspapers are seen will suggest that in comparisons between newspapers some "yellow" newspapers should be included.

In the general absence of government control in the United States, there is a free field for the exercise of other kinds of control. Where the control is a "cause" openly avowed, pupils may find

in the selection and treatment of news conclusive evidence of bias. Where no "cause" is avowed, investigation of the ownership of a newspaper, the reading of a few carefully selected editorials, and a listing of the biggest advertisers may create presumptions of news control to which pupils can refer the paper's selection and treatment of news. Some pupils may find no evidence of bias. Some pupils may find much evidence of bias. Class discussion will prepare the way for outside readings on the question of news control or for a summary by the teacher of charges of news control and how they are met. What should be the outcome? Some understanding of the problem of determining news control may reasonably be expected. Should anything more be attempted or encouraged? Should issues between newspapers and their critics or between news associations and their critics be settled anywhere in school? This raises the general question: How should controversies created by current events be treated in school?

The question is itself controversial. Some teachers may say: "Keep any issue on which the parents of pupils are sharply divided out of the classroom." The principle admits of application to the teaching of current events, but is likely to yield results very unrepresentative of what is really going on in the world and may take the life out of class discussion. Pupils discuss outside of school and hear discussed issues on which their elders are sharply divided and on which pupils often take sides with greater assurance than their elders. Should such obvious possibilities be ignored? If a critical attitude toward current events is desirable, the question answers itself. The simplest of critical exercises may lead to problems which bitterly divide humanity and are yet to be solved. Adjusted to the experience of pupils, the nature even of such problems can be made intelligible. To settle such problems in school is another matter. Pupils will argue, often very shrewdly, and take sides in the most complicated of controversies to which a school exercise may lead them. What to do about it may be a puzzling question. On principle it may seem clear that such discussion is presumptuous and should be discouraged. On principle it may also seem clear that, since such discussion among pupils is sure to occur outside of school, its appearance in school

should be greeted as opportunity for corrective criticism. The teacher may ask: "Do we know enough to decide this question?" A little probing will usually bring a negative answer. "What more must we know before we can really decide?" This will require aid from the teacher. "Is it possible for us to learn enough to decide the question?" This, too, will require aid from the teacher. In an inoffensive way pupils may thus be made conscious of the limitations of their own knowledge and experience. Very bumptious and cocksure pupils may need to have the range of their ignorance more drastically explored. But the limitations of the young should not be overemphasized. They may, after all, have a better understanding of a complicated controversy than many of their elders and at least an equal right to an opinion. Their taking of sides may have behind it information so accurate and so fairly selected and a course of reasoning so reasonable as to deserve hearty commendation by a teacher, even by a teacher as neutral as a teacher can be. What limits should be imposed upon the expression of personal opinions by the teacher, when not defined by administrative rules, must be left to the conscience and discretion of the teacher.¹ But in siding against pupils there is one opinion, too often expressed by teachers, which may be regarded at best as either patronizing or superfluous and at worst as the last resort of age to protect itself against the young. This is the opinion that pupils will know better when they are older. It may of course be so presented as to be inoffensive. But then it may bring too much conviction. "I shall know, being old," may be an inducement to laziness in the young and an inducement to dogmatism in the old.²

Editorials, editorial comment by columnists and other special features, letters to the editor, and advertisements are subject to the same kinds of checking as news in general. Is there, then, no end to checking? To this it may be answered that there are some things which few sensible readers ever stop to check. Among such things are subscription rates, official weather reports, wedding

¹ See Krey, A. C., "Dealing with controversial topics," reprint from *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, October, 1933.

² For a pungent criticism of school treatment of controversial issues, see editorial by L. Kandel in *Educational Forum*, January, 1940, pp. 213-215.

announcements, paid notices of births, deaths, and funerals, official proclamations, — pupils may be asked to extend the list. But with all allowance for exemptions, continuous and exhaustive checking of a newspaper as it appears from day to day is manifestly impossible even for those who have nothing else to do. For ordinary readers checking is severely limited. Most readers probably never even think of it. They simply believe or disbelieve what they read. School training in the process of checking will do much if it can establish habitual attention to indications of sources in news reports and suggest application of the process when decisions that must be made or lines of conduct that must be followed hang upon the truth or falsity of news reports.

The news most suitable for the first steps in checking may in itself be utterly trivial. That need occasion no worry if it is understood from the beginning that all later exercises are to be guided by the question of what news is important enough to have value as information. That question may occasion a good deal of worry. Who shall determine what is important? Shall pupils make their own selection of news for class discussion? Shall teachers make the selection? Have either pupils or teachers any standards of selection except their own individual tastes and interests? Are the tastes and interests of pupils, as much educational philosophy since Rousseau would imply, a sufficient guide to what is important? Are the tastes and interests of teachers a better guide? Have you, the general public, or I, a unit in that public, any other standards? Are any other standards possible? Is the question of what is important itself so important that we should be conscious of what we mean by important?

One day requests came from a class in history for adjournment to a room where the school radio was reporting a baseball battle between the "Reds" and the "Yankees." The teacher dismissed the requests with the question: "What difference does it make who wins?" That was a natural question for a history teacher to ask and may be interpreted as a profound question. If the fundamental fact or law in all history is change, any news that marks change or helps to explain change in this changing world does

make a difference and is, therefore, important. Here is apparently an objective standard. The difficulty is that when we seek to apply it we are confronted by the question: "What change is important enough to call for marking or explaining in school?" Again, what do we mean by important?

Consensus of opinion expressed in statistics has in many educational matters been widely accepted as an objective standard. Taking a hint from this method of determining what is important, a teacher of current events may decide to introduce pupils to the method. Pupils who have already learned that newspapers differ widely in their selection of news may be asked: How can we find out what news the editors of newspapers think is most important? The answer to be expected is: "Look at the front page." Avoiding "Extra," "Sports," and other "Special" editions, the front-page topics in a large city daily may then be listed. Do we agree with the newspaper that these topics are important? Are they important to us? Are they interesting? Let us see how many of these topics are front-page topics in some other newspapers. Comparable editions of five or six dailies of different types will, in ordinary times, show that only a few or none of the front-page topics found in the first newspaper appear as front-page topics in all of the other newspapers. If all of the front-page topics in all of the newspapers under examination are listed, as easily they may be through individual assignments, it may be found that only about five per cent of the total number appear as front-page topics in all of these newspapers. Does this tell us what topics are most important? Are they important to us? Are they interesting? Similar exercises may be extended to weekly and monthly records of news, including periodicals specifically designed for use in school, and on to quarterly publications and yearbooks. Where files of several publications ranging from dailies to yearbooks are accessible, pupils may, through individual assignments, look for traces of the front-page news of a day in publications of the following week, the following month, and so on through following quarterly publication to yearbooks. The discovery that front-page news may dwindle in importance within a week, dwindle more within a month, and

escape any notice whatever within a year, may suggest consultation with Father Time in judging the importance of the news that a day may bring forth.

Any approach to finding what news is most important to most people may raise the question: "What difference does it make?" Within the kinds of control already mentioned in discussing differences in the selection of news, "all the news that's fit to print" will continue to be determined by the individual standards of individual news publications, and each reader will go on reading what seems to him interesting or important. Analysis of the "it-is-important-to-me" principle may seem a more useful, if not the only useful, procedure. This may bring into operation the fundamental historical idea that everything is related to something else and that what makes any fact important is its relation to other facts. What makes news important is, then, its relation to something else. The felt or suspected relation may be to editorial policy. That will be of obvious importance in checking news of importance to the individual reader. The relation may be to a "cause" of which the reader heartily approves or violently disapproves. That will obviously be important. The relation may be to personal conduct or the conduct of special friends or special enemies. That will obviously be important. Can any item of news be important to anybody apart from some felt or suspected relation to something else? Can any item of news even be thought of in complete isolation? If all this seems to bring us back to the standards with which we started, our own individual tastes and interests, these tastes and interests, it may be urged, are at the very least likely to be modified by a study of relations.

One relation that seems inescapable is the relation of current events to history. It is a relation which from the beginning has, in varying degrees, shaped the content of historical works and which in theory has often determined the entire content of history for schools. It is a relation which appears every day in the newspapers. It may be merely the tenuous relation of "That reminds me." A letter written by George Washington in 1787 appears in a daily newspaper this morning and will doubtless

be used by some teachers in their next current-events lesson. The publication of the letter this morning is a current event. Does that impart to the letter itself the significance of a current event? There is no causal connection with anything in the present. The letter explains nothing in the present. It appears merely because two or three days ago something happened which reminded somebody of the letter. The same newspaper carries other items relating to events which happened before any one now living was born. One of the items brings into currency a bit of ancient Egypt. Some of these will doubtless also be used by some teachers in their next current-events lesson. Their publication this morning is a current event. Does that impart to them the significance of current events? There is again no causal connection with anything in the present. The items explain nothing in the present. They appear for the same reason as the letter from George Washington.

Many bits of history appear in newspapers and in school lessons in current events for no reason except that somebody happened to be reminded of them. There are also planned ways of being reminded. A current event may set somebody deliberately searching for something of which the current event might properly be a reminder. The relation may then be one of likeness between a current event and a bit of history. Bits of history introduced either by chance or by design may be self-sufficient. A new way of demonstrating an old theorem in geometry may "get into the papers" and remind somebody of the demonstration of the same theorem by Pythagoras. We can understand the earlier demonstration without knowing anything about Pythagoras except that he is said to have demonstrated the theorem. An item about Professor Einstein may remind somebody of Newton's law of gravitation. We can understand Newton's law without knowing anything about Newton except his name. An item about a new kind of steam engine may remind somebody of Watt's steam engine. We can understand Watt's engine without knowing anything more about Watt. We can understand without their historical setting the antecedents of many things in the world today. But, when the relation between

current events and history rises to causal connection, bits of history apart from the background which produced them become either meaningless or misleading. They may as precedents affect our attitude toward the current events which suggested them. But whether any resulting attitude is justified is a question answered perhaps too easily and with too much assurance by makers of social studies programs. The time-worn theory that the present should determine what to teach about the past is to-day probably more widely effective than ever before in the history of history teaching, with results deplorable for the Muse of history, not only in Russia, Germany, and Italy, but in the United States. A critical attitude toward current events should include a critical attitude toward the relations between current events and history.¹

¹ News over the radio has the same sources as news in the newspapers and therefore calls for no special discussion.

CORRELATION, FUSION, AND INTEGRATION

IN 1915 correlation was still a term that conveyed sufficiently the purpose of those who were battering at the barriers between school subjects. It expressed the purpose of those who desired only a fuller recognition of the obvious fact that, as Vives put it in 1531, "all studies have a connection with one another and a certain affinity."¹ It expressed the purpose of those whose logic seemed to require that all knowledge be thrown into one mass to be drawn upon only as "felt needs" arose and then without any reference to subject boundaries. But some extremists had already so modified their logic as to admit that some division of knowledge into compartments was necessary, and in the United States three such compartments — general mathematics, general science, and the social studies — soon emerged. The term "correlation" all but disappeared and its place was taken by the interchangeable terms "fusion" and "integration." Since then, "fusion" or "integrated" courses in the social studies have been in active competition with history in junior high schools and have made some progress at other school levels.

In 1915 the correlation of history with other subjects invited a chapter of twenty-five pages which, since the arrival of fusion and integration, may seem to have lost all pertinence. But fusion or integration of the social studies is only a narrowing of correlation. Something has been taken away from the old idea of correlation, but nothing has been added. The issue raised in 1915 between subjects with correlation at points of natural contact and a correlation which either impaired the integrity of subjects or obliterated subject boundaries is still an issue, with fusion or integration seeking to achieve for a limited part of the curriculum what the old correlation of the second type sought to

¹ Watson, Foster, *Vives on Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

achieve for the entire curriculum. School studies, it is true, inevitably change in content and interpretation of content with the changing conditions brought by the passage of time. The changes of the last twenty-five years in content and interpretation of content within the field of the social studies have been so rapid, so numerous, and in some respects so radical, that any analysis older than the latest change may seem inapplicable to present relations within the field. But a glance at the position of history in correlation may still be pertinent.

Vives in 1531 found in history "the one study which either gives birth to or nourishes, develops, cultivates all arts." "The medical art is," he said, "collected from history, moral philosophy is built upon history, the whole of law flows out of history, a great part of theology is history."¹ Ziller and others made history the center in applying to correlation the principle of concentration. The Committee of Seven agreed that "as a theoretical proposition, at least, the assertion that the story of life and the onward movement of men, not their language or their physical environment, should form the center of a liberal course, would seem to leave little ground for argument."² History, with or without the name, certainly has been and is a background for all other social sciences. History may indeed be regarded as the only field in which all of the social sciences meet. History, with or without the name, is certainly a background for all fusion or integrated courses in the social studies and may be regarded as the only field in which all of the social studies meet. However much history has itself been changed by the studies to which it has given birth or nourished, and it has beyond doubt been greatly changed by their influence, certain fundamental relations remain.

The theater of events is a necessary part of their reality. It is in many cases the cause that produced them. Man makes his physical environment. He is also made by his physical environment. The story of his life is in any case inseparable from his physical environment. Geography describes this environment. It

¹ Watson, Foster, *Vives on Education*, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

² American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools*, report . . . by the Committee of Seven, New York, 1899. p. 32.

must, in describing it, include the works of man. History without geography and geography without history are alike unthinkable.

The relation found expression in correlated courses as far back as the seventeenth century, and it became a tradition that the two subjects should appear together in the curriculum. With or without planned correlation, the two subjects were commonly placed in the hands of the same teacher. Planned correlation always encountered an initial difficulty. The history needed to illuminate geography might not be the history needed to illuminate history; the geography needed to illuminate history might not be the geography needed to illuminate geography. Planned correlation, while common in European schools, was viewed with suspicion by specialists in subject matter, and protests sometimes amounted to denial of any relation between the two subjects. Professor Langlois in 1897 went so far as to write:

“In France geography has long been regarded as a science closely related to history. An *Agrégation*, which combines history and geography, exists at the present day, and in the *lycées* history and geography are taught by the same professors. Many people persist in asserting the legitimacy of this combination, and even take umbrage when it is proposed to separate two branches of knowledge united, as they say, by many essential connecting links. But it would be hard to find any good reason, or any facts of experience, to prove that a professor of history or an historian is so much the better the more he knows of geology, oceanography, climatology, and the whole group of geographical sciences. In fact it is with some impatience, and to no immediate advantage, that the students of history work through the courses of geography which their curricula force upon them; and those students who have a real taste for geography would be very glad to throw history overboard. The artificial union of history with geography dates back, in France, to an epoch when geography was an ill-defined and ill-arranged subject, regarded by all as a negligible branch of study. It is a relic of antiquity that we ought to get rid of at once.”¹

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, New York, 1903, pp. 46–47, note.

In the United States there has been less opportunity for correlation because less geography has been taught. But in many courses in use before 1915 in elementary schools, either history determined the order in which geography was taught or geography determined the order in which history was taught. Neither arrangement pleased specialists in subject matter. With history determining the correlation, specialists in geography complained that geography was disorganized into unrelated scraps; with geography determining the correlation, specialists in history complained that history was disorganized into unrelated scraps. In general, specialists both in Europe and the United States have agreed, and still seem to agree, that the place to teach the geography needed to illuminate history is in the history class, and the place to teach the history needed to illuminate geography is in the geography class.

Both history and geography have long included a study of government. In the case of history, through most of its history, the relation to government has been much like the relation of botany to plants or zoology to animals. When Freeman pronounced history past politics, he summed up at least the common practice of past historians. History meant for centuries essentially the history of rulers and of governmental operations, and affairs of state still occupy the most prominent place in the pages of the general historian. The study of history in school has from the beginning, in large part, been a study of forms of government, of changes in government, and of action due to government. Partly as cause and partly as effect of this condition, it has for many years been held that the study of history should prepare pupils for political duties, and it has for many years been believed that the study of history actually furnishes such preparation.

In Europe the correlation of government with history left so little occasion for anything more than, until the reconstruction of education after 1920, Priestley's treatment of government as a separate subject stood out as a lonely exception. The need of more political instruction was often emphasized, but almost invariably as a part of the history course. Such was the outcome

of the opinions of six prominent statesmen expressed for *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, a magazine for history teachers, and published in its initial number in 1911. Prince Bülow, one of the contributors, quoted a remark made by Dr. Althoff in response to a suggestion that political instruction in Germany left much to be desired. "We are," said Dr. Althoff, "the first people in philosophy, music, lyric poetry. No one surpasses us in bravery before the enemy. In science and in technics, in trade and industry we have made mighty progress. Since one cannot at the same time do and be everything it need not surprise your Highness if we are political donkeys." Prince Bülow, without going as far as Dr. Althoff, recognized a serious defect in school instruction, which he proposed to remedy by making political intelligence and a sense of political duty the first aim in the teaching of history.¹

In the United States, government has for more than a century figured as a separate school study. But after 1890 the correlation movement suggested the kind of union with history that prevailed in Europe. "Much time," said the Committee of Seven, "will be saved and better results will be obtained if history and civil government be studied together, as one subject rather than as two distinct subjects." The Committee conceded, however, that "in any complete and thorough secondary course there must be, probably, a separate study of civil government, in which may be discussed such topics as municipal government, state institutions, the nature and origin of civil society, some fundamental notions of law and justice, and like matters; and it may even be necessary, if the teacher desires to give a complete course and can command the time, to supplement work in American history with a formal study of the Constitution and the workings of the national government. But we repeat that a great deal of what is commonly called civil government can best be studied as a part of history. To know the present form of our constitutions well, one should see whence they came and how they developed; but to show origins, developments, changes, is the task of history, and in the proper study of history one sees just these movements

¹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Heft I, 5.

and knows their results."¹ In accordance with this view, the fourth of the "blocks" recommended by the Committee became "American History and Civil Government."

There were protests against this combination, and in 1908 a Committee of Five of the American Political Science Association reported that "the consensus of opinion and the existing practice are clearly in favor of teaching American government as a distinct branch of high school study." The arguments for union with history, as summarized by this Committee were:

1. Since American government is largely an outgrowth of American history, both should be studied simultaneously.
2. The subjects should be taught together to save time and avoid the repetition of history.
3. The subject of government when taught apart from history is abstract and very general, therefore uninteresting to high school students.
4. Because of the recommendation made by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association.

In answer to these arguments the political science Committee found in the first statement a "pedagogical fallacy." "It does not follow that because government is largely an outgrowth from history a boy in the high school should study them at the same time." The second statement was declared to be its own best refutation. If there is not room for government, there ought to be room. As for the repetition of history in the study of government, "it is exactly this kind of correlation that we want." The third statement was held to be "really directed against the threadbare stuff that formerly was taught under the meaningless name of "Civics'" and therefore without special significance. The conclusions of the Committee of Seven were found "hesitating and apparently contradictory." That Committee, it was inferred, "did not aim to solve the problem of the course in government, but undertook to adapt it to the needs of instruction in history." The results of combining the two subjects were described. "In most instances the teachers present, in these combination courses, American history as it is commonly taught, with a brief study of local government in connection with the history of the colonies, a

¹ American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools, report . . . by the Committee of Seven*, New York, 1899, reprinted 1912, pp. 81-82.

few lessons on the Constitution in the constitution-making period, and then some hurried lessons here and there on special topics like the Speaker, the veto power, etc." "We cannot hope," added the Committee, "for anything but the merest botch work from such plans of instruction."¹

The Committee of Five of the American Historical Association restated the views of the Committee of Seven and expressed general sympathy therewith, but, recognizing more definitely the need of some separate work in government, proposed to divide between history and government the time allotted to history in the fourth year of the high school. "Two-fifths of the time," said the Committee, "may be given to separate work in government and three-fifths to the course in history. This arrangement will not appear to all teachers as ideal; some teachers will desire more time for history, others more time for government. But on the whole the distribution appears to be the best that can be proposed, and we should be the last to assert that no teacher should modify any adjustment or arrangement to suit his own needs and inclinations, if they are based on an intelligent regard for the subject and his pupils. Many teachers will prefer to give the civil government separately after the history work is concluded. But while this plan may have its advantages in some respects, the continuous study of government throughout the year side by side with history has also advantages that merit some consideration. Where the study of government extends through the whole year, there are many opportunities for concrete illustrations and even learning by observation, which are not allowed in a shorter time: elections are held; municipal problems arise and are discussed in the newspapers; important appointments to office are announced; the usual presidential message appears. These advantages will induce many teachers to prefer the system of carrying government through the year side by side with history."²

Since the days of these committees the term "government"

¹ American Political Science Association, *Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 228, 231-232, 234, 236, 238.

² American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Secondary Schools*, report . . . by a Committee of Five, New York, 1911, pp. 52-53.

has largely been supplanted in school practice by the term "civics," a term which has carried more reproach of earlier school treatises than appreciation of the conditions which produced them. Even if those treatises were as guilty as charged of exclusive or disproportionate attention to the text of the Constitution of the United States, an assumption somewhat lacking in proof, it should be remembered that "worship of the Constitution" has at various times been the fundamental article in the political creed of Americans and the greatest "felt need" of the times. A treatise on government should, it will probably be agreed, answer three questions: (1) what our national, state, and local government is; (2) what our government does and fails to do for us; (3) what we can and ought to do for our government. Earlier treatises emphasized principles and forms of government, gave some illustration of actual functioning, and preached to a considerable extent about good citizenship. Civics in its most widely appealing form arrives at a conception of what government is through a study of what government does, and on the way not only seeks to impress the privileges and duties of political citizenship, but sets up standards for social conduct in general, and provides activities, not entirely foreign to school practice even in the nineteenth century, to develop good citizenship in its broadest sense.

History, geography, and civics are the subjects which have furnished most of the material for fusion or integrated courses in the social studies. To these may be added a creative literature once the breath of life to correlation suggested by history and now, after a period of comparative quiescence, apparently on the way to still greater usefulness in the family of the social studies.

History began as a branch of literature, and history conceived in the literary spirit continues to find publishers and readers. The line of demarcation which critical historians have been drawing during the last hundred years, and which is now fairly clear to special students of history, has to some extent been recognized in the shaping of school programs. But the attitude of a very considerable part of the educational world has from the

first been unfriendly toward all attempts to sever history from its literary associations.

Jacob Grimm, a century ago, complained that education had created an unnatural gulf between history and poetry, and this is still the opinion of many writers on education. There are, as we have seen, theories of grading history that require a romantic treatment of the subject even in the high school. There are educational aims that point to history as an "epic, a drama, and a song." There are conceptions of historical truth that place the tales of poets above the sober facts narrated by historians. In many cases, therefore, the correlation of history and literature means the treatment of history itself in the literary spirit and, in some cases, the treatment of history itself for the sake of literature.

Advocates of the correlation that ends by swamping history in literature have a simple task. Literature abounds in portrayals of scenes and characters, great and small, by poets, dramatists, and novelists. The materials have so often been searched out and listed that no great amount of ingenuity is required to discover them. It is easy to fill the history course with such materials and to correlate with similar materials in reading courses and in studies in literature. It is easy, if there are qualms of historical conscience, to point out general distinctions between history and literature, and easy to preserve peaceful relations afterward by a little honest lapse of memory in applying the distinctions, or by a little honest ignorance of history. But difficulties of a somewhat serious character await those who really explore the mutual contributions of the two fields. "History," we read, for example, "is the record of men's deeds. Literature is the record of men's thoughts and feelings. How can one record be understood without reading the other also? Indeed, it is only by bringing the two records together and comparing them — interpreting men's feelings in the light of their deeds, and illustrating their deeds by their sentiments and feelings as they are expressed in literature — that the study of either literature or history can be made vital."¹

¹ Report, Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, 1908, p. 50.

History does not, of course, stop with men's deeds, and literature does not stop with men's thoughts and feelings. History habitually includes thoughts and feelings; literature does not hesitate to describe deeds. A considerable part of the literature used in school to illuminate history is, indeed, almost pure narration of events. But, waiving this objection, and admitting that the two records should be brought together and compared, other difficulties appear. The speaker who found in *Paul Revere's Ride* a reason for studying history would, in all probability, have been less sure of his ground if his logic had carried him to the actual test. It would seem at least of doubtful value, either to history or to literature, before or after galloping with Paul Revere into "Concord town" in Longfellow's spirited poem, to be stopped on the road by British soldiers in some cold history, with no hint that "the fate of a nation" was thus dismounted or that the steed was responsible for a "spark" which "kindled the land into flame with its heat." A good poem or novel may be quite spoiled by a little consideration of the bald facts and their historical significance. A clear page of history may reap only confusion from romance.

It is of course possible to select, both from contemporary literature and from later literary reconstructions of the past, records that need not be questioned. The object may be merely to illustrate the sentiments of individual authors. The record may be one in which the facts of history are touched but lightly, or in a very general way, and as a mere background, with emphasis upon impressions made by the facts or upon their larger meaning. One does not check severely Byron's summary of Greek history in the *Isles of Greece*, or the conversation between the mate and the admiral in Joaquin Miller's *Sail On*. One does not look to Browning's *Abt Vogler* or *A Grammarian's Funeral* for biography. The situation is in any event saved, in most cases, by the simple device of not bringing the two records together for comparison. Those who look upon *Ivanhoe* as "a true picture of the Middle Ages," or *A Tale of Two Cities* as "a true picture of the French Revolution," naturally feel no need of instituting comparisons. Those who are more critical, and who recommend such works

for "purely illustrative purposes," usually find comparisons with matter of fact pictures impracticable. For teachers in general it is enough that historical fiction is supposed to be more interesting than history, that it is supposed to have more atmosphere, and that it is supposed to lead in time to the reading of serious history. Lady Clarinda spoke for a large class of readers. "History," she said, "is but a tiresome thing in itself; it becomes the more agreeable the more romance is mixed up with it. The great enchanter has made me learn many things which I should never have dreamed of studying, if they had not come to me in the form of amusement."¹

The romantic treatment of history has been commended even by historians. Thierry eulogized Chateaubriand and contrasted Scott's "wonderful comprehension of the past with the petty erudition of the most celebrated modern historians." The appearance of *Ivanhoe* he saluted "with transports of enthusiasm." It was apparently from Scott that he derived the inspiration for his *Conquest of England by the Normans*, and it was quite in the spirit of Scott that he wrote at the end of one of his chapters: "These men have been dead seven hundred years. But what of that? For the imagination there is no past."²

If the discredit cast upon Thierry by historical critics is held to detract from the value of his praise, we have, nearer home, the generous recognition accorded by James Ford Rhodes to a novelist within a field already investigated by the historian. "What I have attempted in the way of color when touching upon South Carolina and Charleston," says Rhodes, "has been completely and artistically done by Owen Wister in 'Lady Baltimore.' Every student of the South during the period of reconstruction will have his knowledge clarified and his judgment informed by a study of this delicate portrayal of the people of Charleston. Through the charm of a skillfully constructed story, he will be made to see life as it is and as it was. Nothing, in my judgment, has been written to prove so powerful an agent in bringing to

¹ Peacock, Thomas Love, *Crotchet Castle*, Scribner's Edition, p. 427. ("The great enchanter" was of course Sir Walter Scott.)

² Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1913, pp. 170, 171.

pass Lamar's noble words, 'My countrymen, *know* one another and you will *love* one another.'"¹

Other historians have been less favorably impressed by historical fiction. It was no less a master than Ranke who declared that "the discovery of the difference in the portraits of Louis XI and Charles the Bold in *Quentin Durward* and in *Commines* constituted an epoch in his life." "'I found by comparison,'" he says, "'that the truth was more interesting and beautiful than the romance. I turned away from it and resolved to avoid all invention and imagination in my work and to stick to the facts.'"²

It would be easy to multiply quotations from historians in praise or dispraise of historical fiction. It would be easy to show similar differences of opinion among literary critics, and even among novelists themselves.³ The teacher who desires to prove either side by citations of opinion will find no lack of distinguished support.

Accuracy of historical detail in historical novels is rarely tested in school, and the encomiums pronounced upon atmosphere come so often from those who have scarcely looked at history, outside of a textbook, that the claims are subject to some suspicion. There should at least be a distinction between an atmosphere really true to history and an atmosphere which appears true to the reader merely because he feels atmosphere. The extent to which historical novels cultivate a taste for history is debatable. It will not do to argue that, because Parkman was led by Cooper's novels to write one of the greatest of American histories, the pupil who begins with Cooper will end with Parkman. It is safer, as a general proposition, to argue that the historical novel cultivates a taste for the historical novel. Certainly tests of teachers addicted to historical novels show an almost hopeless mortality in crossing the bridge to history.

¹ *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Macmillan, New York, 1906, VI, vii.

² Quoted by Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1913, p. 78.

³ For examples of literary opinion, see *Forum*, XXIV, 79-91, and Le Breton, André, *Balzac*, Paris, no date, p. 83.

At bottom, the argument for the introduction of historical fiction into school instruction in history rests, in most cases, upon the grounds stated by Lady Clarinda. Historical fiction is used because it is interesting. To a large extent literature in general is used for the same and for no other real reason.

Teachers of history, especially in the elementary school, concede too readily that history is "but a tiresome thing in itself." The tradition, it should be remembered, has in the main been established by those who are more familiar with literary than with historical interpretations of history. Those who have tried the latter have often discovered, even in the elementary school, that there are children who, like Ranke, find "the truth more interesting and beautiful than the romance." But even if the greater interest of the literary interpretation be granted, it does not follow that the place of history is in the camp of literature whenever it happens to meet a poet, dramatist, or novelist who has drawn materials from its highways or byways.

History contributes to literature. It furnishes material and inspiration to literary genius. It supplies the background of conditions and events contemporary with literary genius and here, as elsewhere, relates the times to the man. It records great achievements in literature with great achievements in other fields of human activity. It is itself in some cases literature. Literature contributes to history. It furnishes indications of popular taste and of moral and intellectual standards. It sheds light upon the prejudices, the ideals, and the aspirations of a people. It is to be counted with the forces that mold the life of a people. It is a part of the atmosphere of its age. Each field is dependent upon the other. But history moves primarily in the realm of fact. Literature moves primarily in the realm of art. The difference is radical both in spirit and in purpose. It may be that literature is of the higher value to humanity. The value of history is not, in any event, to be realized by teaching literature.

The problems of correlation thus indicated are, it seems clear, so far as the integration of subject matter is concerned, still fundamental problems in the correlation called fusion or integra-

tion of the social studies. The difference, if there is any, must be sought in the principles that guide the selection of the materials to be integrated. The old correlation was guided in its selection by "felt needs." How is selection in the new correlation guided?

Howard E. Wilson, in his very able volume on *The Fusion of Social Studies in Junior High Schools*, after a penetrating analysis of representative courses and representative writings by advocates and opponents of the fusion idea, has formulated "the fusion platform" as follows:

"1. Only such material as has direct value in developing in pupils intelligent understandings and tolerant, coöperative appreciations fitting them to engage in the activities of the life of the time shall be taught.

"2. Selected subject matter in the social studies must be organized in units of experience, psychologically appealing and learnable, and corresponding as closely as possible to life situations.

"3. Traditional subject boundaries shall be ignored in the construction of the social-science curriculum; subject fields not only fail to achieve the purposes of education but interfere with the selection and organization of a curriculum which will achieve these purposes. The current problem rather than the subject is the heart of a functional unit."¹

This platform, as Dr. Wilson points out, is by no means the exclusive property of fusion courses. All of its principles, except the elimination of subject boundaries, have been advanced by various advocates of the system of separate subjects and have been actually applied in the reconstruction of separate subjects. They are, moreover, principles which individually are scattered about in the literature of education all the way from Comenius to Harold Rugg. "Only such material as has direct value" seems to have been the principle in the "felt needs" of the old correlation. A psychological approach has appeared again and again in systems of grading material. The old correlation, in its extreme form, went quite as far as "the fusion platform" in repudiating subject boundaries. "Organized as units of experi-

¹ Wilson, Howard E., *The Fusion of Social Studies in Junior High Schools*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933, 211 pp., p. 61.

ence" is a new expression, but building topics upon pupil experience is certainly not new, and the use of "life situations" is certainly not new. "The current problem" was widely recognized in the eighteenth century and was very much in evidence in the reconstruction of education in France in the light of the Year I. If the reader is interested in precedents for "the fusion platform," he will find a considerable number in the second, third, and fourth chapters of the present volume.

The author would be the last to dismiss any idea simply because it is old. He is, on the contrary, convinced that only by building upon past experience can real progress be achieved. When wireless telegraphy was new, the author heard a lecturer at Harvard (his name has been forgotten) trace the background of the invention. Starting with the ancient Greeks, this lecturer showed how each investigator had profited by acquaintance with the work of his predecessors until Marconi, building upon what had already been achieved, took the step — in the light of what had already been achieved it seemed a little step — which startled the world. If educational reformers would adopt a similar procedure, there might be less exploring without charts regions already charted, less thrilling over discoveries already discovered, and more progress in education. Even the ideal of "only such material as has direct value," which has never as yet been completely extricated from material of only indirect value and which may therefore still be regarded as an impossible ideal, might then some day be realized.

The disruptive tendency of early fusion programs has to some extent been overcome in later programs by organization around central cores or themes, somewhat after the manner of the old concentration programs, and by emphasis upon continuity. Interesting examples are collected in the *Fourteenth Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association.¹ To the correlation of subjects has been added the correlation of instructors, by having teachers of special subjects take their turns in teaching a class, as in the Horace Mann and Lincoln Schools in New York. There are some

¹ *Yearbook*, 1936, pp. 101-138. See also Chapter IX.

courses in the social studies which, like the Krey regional course, have achieved coherence and continuity.

The integration of knowledge as the age-long dream of philosophers, much as individual philosophers have distrusted any system of integration except their own, and much as scholars in special fields have distrusted all systems of integration, may still be regarded as the highest of intellectual ideals. But between this ideal and such principles as those of "the fusion platform" for the social studies, there can be little compatibility. Whatever may be thought of fusion or integrated courses in those studies,—and there is ground for much commendation,—one idea not to entertain is that anything approaching real integration of knowledge is yet in sight. More attention to synthesis as synthesis may in some happier time bring real integration. Speed the day! In the meantime, to disregard such synthesis as has already been achieved in a particular social science may be to disregard its chief value. Every organized subject which has ever been admitted to the school curriculum has presented facts and processes essential to an understanding and appreciation of the world for which pupils were being prepared, and which, to be made effective, had to be worked out on the principle "This one thing I do." There are, beyond question, points of natural contact between separate subjects which should be foreseen in planning the curriculum, and consciously turned to account by all teachers. But in the absence of a higher integration it is at best a doubtful procedure so to manipulate any subject as to impair or destroy the integrity of its own peculiar contribution.

THE EXAMINATION

THE examination idea, as developed in Europe and America, had its origin in the universities of the Middle Ages, where it was applied in testing candidates for admission to the various degrees. It appears to have been first carried over into school practice for the purpose of indicating to outside authorities the quality of school work. Early school examinations were oral and were conducted by clergymen and other learned men. Such were the "school visitations" of the sixteenth century. These "visitations" were apparently often far from welcome and were no doubt often unfair both to teachers and to pupils. Whether school examinations should be conducted by outsiders or by teachers and whether the examinations should be oral or written were questions raised before the close of the sixteenth century and have remained live questions which different countries have answered in different ways.

In the United States, oral examinations by outsiders were the rule until about 1850. After that, the idea of written examinations on questions prepared within the schools spread rapidly. Such examinations were used in connection with daily recitation records as a basis for promotion from grade to grade and as requirements for graduation from secondary schools. American secondary schools aimed at a general culture the nature of which was determined largely by college entrance requirements, and colleges in general aimed at culture in the European sense. Candidates for admission to college were required to pass such entrance examinations as the college itself prescribed. Something of the New World spirit of innovation appeared in the plan, first adopted in Michigan in 1870, of admitting to college without examination graduates from accredited secondary schools. This plan became general in the Middle West and

farther West. In 1878, however, Minnesota instituted a system of state examinations for high schools and placed the system under the jurisdiction of the State University. In New York State the Board of Regents began in 1865 to conduct elementary school examinations as a basis for the distribution of the Literature Fund, and in 1878 added secondary school examinations for the same purpose, and for the further purpose of "establishing proper standards of scholarship," suitable alike for graduation from secondary schools and for "admission to the several colleges of the State." Outside of New York, eastern colleges continued in general to prescribe their own entrance examinations for all candidates for admission. Secondary schools thus had to prepare for a variety of college entrance requirements, and entrance requirements often limited a candidate's choice of a college.

Beginning with a conference of New England colleges in 1879, a movement was started in the direction of some uniformity in college entrance examinations. The New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, organized in 1885, and the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, begun in 1887 and later formally organized, became active in the movement. After 1890 various committees representing these and other organizations, including the National Education Association, advanced various proposals. There were also reports from special conferences on the question. Twenty years of agitation culminated in 1900, under the guidance of President (then Professor) Nicholas Murray Butler, in the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board. The examinations offered by this Board soon became the most widely known and the most influential of all American systems of examination. In the framing of questions and in the marking of papers, both secondary schools and colleges are represented. Examinations are held at different centers throughout the country and in foreign countries, and successful candidates are admitted to colleges in all parts of the country.

The examinations most frequently under discussion are those determined in whole or in part by agencies outside of the schools. Where such examinations are required, the natural tendency on

the part both of teachers and of pupils is to prepare for examinations, and even to look upon examinations as the chief end of study. This is by no means an unmixed evil. It has, indeed, been an important factor in elevating standards and a powerful, if not altogether worthy, stimulus to effort on the part of pupils. The problem is so to adjust the examinations as not to interfere with purposes which may be considered of higher merit than the attainment of passing grades. It is, as suggested by the Madison Conference, to devise some system "by which schools which use proper methods shall have some advantage."¹ Under Continental European conditions, the school curriculum and the general methods of teaching determine the nature of the examinations. Under English and American conditions, the examinations have at times determined both the curriculum and the general methods of teaching.

Before the close of the nineteenth century it was known in a general way that the grading of examination papers was a somewhat uncertain process. The same paper submitted to a dozen different readers might be allotted a dozen different grades. In a general way it was known that examinations were sometimes too long and sometimes too short, sometimes too hard and sometimes too easy. It was even suspected that the types of examinations which had become traditional might fail to measure adequately either the pupil's knowledge or his ability, and in the work of Sir Francis Galton in England and J. McKeen Cattell in the United States, foundations were being laid for that application of scientific methods in the appraisal and construction of examinations which, in the first decade of the present century, the genius of Edward L. Thorndike made practical and convincing. Since then students trained by Professor Thorndike and others working along similar lines have spread the gospel of educational measurement with such success that the country is now flooded with standardized tests ranging over the entire school curriculum and including tests of general intelligence, of general culture, of interests and attitudes, of

¹ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies . . . with the reports of the conferences . . .*, Washington, 1893, p. 183.

habits, of aptitude for study, of religion, of character, of personality. All of these tests carry the assumption that something is being definitely measured, and in the faith of enthusiasts there is no human trait which cannot thus be measured.

The theories and techniques of educational measurement have been developed by psychologists, and the literature is in places so technical that only expert psychologists and expert statisticians can understand it. Different schools of psychology may support somewhat different procedures, but that, so far as the ordinary teacher is concerned, is a matter to be settled by psychological and statistical experts. What comes to the teacher is so mechanized that any teacher can apply it. Standardized tests made up of questions or exercises which, in the keys provided for the use of teachers, admit of only one answer in the form of a check mark, a letter, a number, a word, or a short phrase will obviously be scored with complete uniformity, barring errors in the teachers' checking. That makes the tests objective. Such tests are commonly called "new-type tests" to distinguish them from the "essay type" in which pupils write out their answers.

New-type tests are of various patterns, some of which scarcely deserve the adjective "new." There is the simple recall test in the form of a question, a statement to be completed, a paragraph with blanks to be filled in by the pupil, a character to "identify briefly," a person or thing to be named from a description. Who invented the cotton gin? The cotton gin was invented by . . . Identify briefly Robespierre, Disraeli, Robert Fulton, Washington Irving. The highest mountain in the world is . . . The largest city in the world is . . . Such types of testing are probably as old as examinations, and all of them were certainly familiar to American pupils years before the close of the nineteenth century.

There is the true-false test, an eighteenth century example of which has already been given (see p. 39). American pupils are now asked to mark with a T for true and an F for false such statements as the following:

Pericles drove the Persians out of Greece.

Tiberius Gracchus was a social reformer in ancient Rome.

The Northmen discovered America before Columbus was born.

John Winthrop was the first governor of Virginia.

The germ theory of infection was established by Pasteur.

In all English colonies there was religious toleration.

In true-false tests pure guessing has of course a fifty per cent chance of being right.

There is the multiple-choice test. This may be regarded as an expansion of the old-fashioned alternative question. In the commonest forms of multiple-choice a direct question is followed by four, five, or more responses only one of which is correct or one of which is the best response; or an affirmative statement is left to be completed from four, five, or more alternatives only one of which is correct or one of which offers the best completion. Who discovered the Mississippi River? 1. De Soto, 2. La Salle, 3. Marquette, 4. Hennepin.¹ The Mississippi River was discovered by 1. De Soto, 2. La Salle, 3. Marquette, 4. Hennepin.

There is the matching exercise. This is only another form of multiple-choice. Items are arranged in parallel columns, descriptive items on one side and on the other side items to be fitted to the descriptions. Thus:

Founded the colony of Georgia
Established a settlement in Utah
Founded a colony in Connecticut

1. Thomas Hooker
2. James Oglethorpe
3. John Smith
4. Roger Williams
5. Brigham Young²

In the examples here cited, multiple-choice and matching are reduced to their simplest form. Both admit of extension to any conditions or events which can be briefly described and briefly named, and both may be so framed that the pupil must either work his way to responses through analysis, comparison, and inference or resort to pure guessing, with, of course, a smaller chance of guessing correctly than is offered by true-false tests.

There are other distinguishable patterns of new-type tests and, within the general patterns which have been enumerated,

¹ Item 113 in *Selected Test Items in American History*, by Howard R. Anderson and E. F. Lindquist.

² Item 6 in same.

many variations are possible. Experts in technique have worked out elaborate rules for the construction of tests and have indicated the special circumstances which make one type of test preferable to other types. A new-type examination may be made up wholly of a single pattern of exercises or may include several patterns. In any case it must be objective.

Much has been claimed for such objective testing. But in the field of the social studies an outstanding expert in technique admits "that the ingenuity of the objective test constructor has not been equal to the task of devising techniques for the measurement of many of the more intangible outcomes of instruction, such as to express ideas effectively in writing; to locate and organize materials independently; to pass judgment on the effect of a series of related happenings; nor has it been possible, with present objective technique, to explore the capacity of a pupil for an unusually thorough insight into a comparatively narrow field." For the testing of such outcomes, this expert recommends the essay type of examination, but with the proviso that it must really test such outcomes. "Most of the present essay examinations in the social studies," he finds, "stress little else than ability to recall facts or to reproduce an organization or interpretation already provided by the textbook or teacher."¹

The opprobrium thus attached to essay examinations is of a kind long familiar to teachers of history and has often been made vehemently odious by critics of history examinations. M. W. Keatinge of Oxford University, writing, thirty years ago, of history examinations in England, cited an examination in English history for candidates between sixteen and seventeen years of age and passed upon it the general criticism that it tested "the memory of the pupil more than any other mental process." It was, he found, not even a test of things especially worthy of remembrance. Many important topics had been avoided because of use in previous examinations. Such avoidance must, he thought, "always be a feature of memory examina-

¹ Anderson, Howard R., in *The Construction and Use of Achievement Examinations*, edited by Herbert E. Hawkes, E. F. Lindquist, and C. R. Mann, Boston, 1936, pp. 204-209.

tions." The paper cited was declared as a whole "likely to discourage all teaching that is not the most deliberate preparation for the examination-room." It was "emphatically a text-book paper." One of the questions called for "a rapid sketch of English literature under Elizabeth." "This," wrote Keatinge, "represents the worst type of question that can be set. It is a direct encouragement to teach lists of the names and characteristics of authors that the pupils have not read, and this is useless and senseless cram of the most unprofitable kind. It is a saddening reflection that many competent and earnest teachers have to spend their lives in preparing pupils to deal with papers of this kind, that a great university countenances such examining and derives a pecuniary profit from it, and that the money which ratepayers contribute toward secondary education with such reluctance may be devoted to work of which such papers determine the quality. It is examinations of this type which deter many able men from entering the teaching profession."¹

Comparing the paper cited by Keatinge with the paper set in English history by our College Entrance Examination Board in 1914, the present author found the latter superior in some respects but on the whole a test of memory and subject to criticism very similar to that passed by Keatinge upon the paper in England. American examiners had for years been wrestling with the problem of introducing "thought" questions. They had asked for comparison and inference, for causes and results. They had endeavored to test the ability to select from a mass of facts the essentials, to arrange them in orderly form, and to determine their bearings on current problems. They had raised questions on collateral reading to test both knowledge and taste. But in spite of all effort, it was usually found that "thought" questions had been anticipated by textbooks or teachers so that pupils came prepared with answers which had already been thought out for them and which, when remembered, could be reproduced by pupils without any thinking of their own. During the past twenty-five years some gains have been made. Many new-type

¹ Keatinge, Maurice Walter, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, London, 1910, pp. 173-175.

examinations have been given. But the essay examination in history remains essentially a memory test. Granting cheerfully, therefore, that experts who are still discovering this condition have valid ground for severe criticism, is the new-type examination in this respect any better than the essay?

It so happens that all of the examples of new-type testing cited in the present chapter are what an old-fashioned teacher might call "pure memory" tests. Two of the examples are reproductions of tests proposed by experts, and the others are either reproductions or adaptations of material suggested by experts. The aim was, however, merely to illustrate in brief space and in a simple way the chief forms which new-type tests have assumed. In their substance the examples are not a fair representation of the field as a whole. As was pointed out in the case of multiple-choice and matching exercises, new-type tests may be so framed that pupils must either reason their way to responses or resort to pure guessing. Mere memoriter learning, that is, will not furnish direct answers. The extent to which this possibility has been realized may be fairly judged by a study of the long lists of selected new-type items which have appeared in bulletins of the National Council for the Social Studies and which now cover American history, world history, and economics. The lists were prepared by Howard R. Anderson and E. F. Lindquist and may, therefore, be accepted as representative of the highest skill and ingenuity thus far developed in the field. There are 652 items in American history, 608 items in world history, and 661 items in economics. A number or letter attached to each part of every item indicates what is deemed the correct response. Many of the history items are on their face straight memory tests; many, which on their face appear to be something more, are directly answered in textbooks; relatively few involve reasoning unquestionably beyond possible reproduction from memoriter learning. This is by no means to discount the guidance value of the items. In technique they approach perfection. In subject matter they appear to have been consciously kept within textbook limits, but the scholarship is far superior to that in many of the standardized tests which have been published. The introductory discussion of testing is

admirable. The only point here suggested is that memory seems to hold quite as large a place in these new-type tests as in the essay type. It is of course a point subject to challenge, but adequate discussion would require more space than is here available. So far as the Anderson-Lindquist items are concerned, any teacher can easily count the items which are on their face memory tests and check others by reference to a textbook.¹

Waiving the question of the extent to which new-type tests are tests of something more than memory, it is beyond dispute that memory tests have not been excluded. Some experts in new-type technique, however, apparently think that such tests *should* be excluded. "It is doubtful," writes William A. McCall, "whether the testing of mere memoriter learning of any sort is educationally defensible." In his opinion it should perhaps be made a rule "to ask no straight information questions at all." His general conclusion is that "a straight knowledge test is justifiable probably only when it can be shown that such a test is an excellent index of more important integrated abilities, and when knowledge itself may be assumed to be equivalent to action of marked social significance, — as for example, knowledge of how to stem the flow of blood."² How a test can be "an excellent index of more important integrated abilities" without being more than a memory test is not clear, but stemming "the flow of blood" clearly suggests that "straight knowledge" tests are legitimate when they relate to knowledge which may be of direct practical use, a canon long familiar in education and today, perhaps more acutely than ever before, on the conscience of progressive educators in the United States. But, judged by this canon, makers of standardized tests and makers of all other kinds of tests in the social studies have still much to learn.

Early attempts at new-type testing in the social studies were viewed with suspicion by specialists in subject matter. There was a feeling that the experts in technique who first ventured into the

¹ *Selected Test Items in American History*, Bulletin Number 6 of the National Council for the Social Studies, May, 1936; *Selected Test Items in World History*, Bulletin No. 9, February, 1938; *Selected Test Items in Economics*, Bulletin No. 11, January, 1939.

² McCall, William A., *Measurement*, New York, 1939, pp. 30-31.

field did not know enough about the social studies to determine what was significant for testing, that the things which they professed to measure either defied measurement or were of little or no importance, and that the subject matter used in testing was in some cases so erroneous that no specialist could admit it to his fold. In the rapid rise of new-type tests to a commanding position in the school world there has been steady improvement both in technique and in scholarship, improvement due in part to the criticism and coöperation of specialists in subject matter. But unfavorable appraisals by specialists have continued down to the present. The most exhaustive appraisal has come from the Commission on the Social Studies. This Commission, after wide investigation and extensive experiments with new-type tests, extending over a period of five years with the coöperation of scholars, teachers, experts in technique, and schools and colleges, throughout the country, arrived at results which, as interpreted in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission, imposed drastic limitations on new-type testing.

Upon the testing movement as a whole, the *Conclusions and Recommendations* pass no judgment. What is judged is the operation of new-type tests in social science instruction, with the admission that "much of what follows may be applied with equal force to all types of formal examinations devised for use in the schools." Tests of intelligence are found to be of uncertain meaning because "at present there seems to be no general agreement among students as to what it is that the test actually measures." But even if the measurements are accepted at their face value, "no positive conclusions and formulations respecting education, citizenship, and public policy automatically emerge." Tests of character and culture are held to deal with "matters that are not susceptible of mathematical description." A special paragraph on "cheating" ends with the observation that "in the light of large community and historical movements such tests of honesty and service as have thus far been made are mere trivialities." The comment on the face value of tests of character and culture is essentially the same as the comment on the face value of intelligence tests.

New-type tests of classroom products fare somewhat better. Such tests, it is admitted, "may be superior to the general written examination in the range of sources of information which may be drawn upon for single tests, in the positive gradation of items from easy to hard, in the establishment of uniform standards from class to class and from school to school and in the objectivity of marking. . . ." But "where the new-type tests are chiefly relied upon two major evils are sure to emerge — the placing of a fictitious rating on the student who is clever at learning the 'tricks of the trade,' and the encouragement of students to go to college or into life without ever having to put forth continuous and constructive effort in *thinking* and *writing* in the fields of history, political science, economics, sociology, and human relations."

Summing up its appraisal the Commission declared: "The assumption that new-type tests can guide and measure the efficiency of instruction in the social sciences is based on misconceptions of social processes, and such tests, except where used as occasional checks on other examining methods, do positive damage to the minds and powers of children. . . ." In conclusion the real test of social science instruction is placed beyond the classroom and is left to be determined by life situations as they arise in the individual lives of pupils, to which, for the program proposed by the Commission itself, is added "the long sweep of history."¹

Ernest Horn, as chairman of a special committee, offered a substitute for the first draft of the Commission's chapter on tests and, taking exception to the final draft, published the proposed substitute. In this a different attitude toward new-type testing was suggested. The substitute would have made the Commission say: "Objective testing techniques do have great possibilities for extended usefulness, and it is unfortunate that undiscriminating and prejudiced opposition is seriously retarding their further development."² Exception to the findings of the Commission was

¹ *Conclusions and Recommendations*, pp. 86-102.

² *Social Studies*, January, 1935, p. 16. The full text of the proposed substitute appears in this number. Dr. Horn had refused to sign the *Conclusions and Recommendations*.

also taken by Truman L. Kelley, who, as expert in psychology for the Commission, had collaborated with A. C. Krey in planning and checking materials for the special volume on *Tests and Measurements*. In "a divergent opinion," Dr. Kelley, without any direct reference to the work of the Commission, sums up in fifteen propositions views which he attributes to "opponents" of new-type testing and argues the case for "proponents," sometimes agreeing in part with "opponents," sometimes disagreeing completely, and sometimes more than hinting that there are issues which "opponents" have failed to understand. According to proposition 14, "the opponents assert that 'educators,' psychologists, and statisticians are trying 'to run things' by means of tests of their own devising." In the course of denying this charge, Dr. Kelley finds that "academic men in the field of the social studies in universities do distrust measuring instruments, the derivation of which they do not understand, and the reliability of which they cannot personally determine. However, as the only reason for this lack of ability upon their part is their indisposition to study the techniques involved, their view is hardly entitled to great respect." Dr. Kelley wants coöperation and disapproves "of any attempt to construct measuring instruments for different scholastic fields" without the "assistance of competent specialists in these fields," but strangely makes no allusion to the large-scale attempt at coöperation on the part of the Commission.¹

Much of the criticism which followed publication of the Commission's findings on tests was based exclusively on the brief chapter in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* and took no account of the special volume on *Tests and Measurements*. In the extended investigation and experimentation recorded in the latter volume, "the social scientist," as Dr. Krey observes, "learned more about the new-type test and the technician in measurement learned more about social science."² But the outcome was disappointing to both, and the disappointment of the social scientist

¹ For Dr. Kelley's "divergent opinion," see *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences*, New York, 1934, pp. 487-501. This volume is Part IV of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies.

² Kelley, Truman L., and Krey, August Charles, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences*, New York, 1934, p. 472.

may have expressed itself too strongly in the *Conclusions and Recommendations*. This disappointment should, however, be read in the light of the fuller treatment in *Tests and Measurements* and compared with criticism which experts in technique have themselves passed upon each other. If an expert technician like Dr. McCall, viewing recent development, has ground for declaring in 1939 that measurement "has tended to spin endlessly about itself a protective web of statistical intricacy, untroubled by any philosophical spark, and undisturbed by the world's travail," and if he has ground for entertaining a purpose "to yank measurement out of its statistical complacency,"¹ some strong language by social scientists may not have been wholly out of place in 1934.

While it has been easy, and at times not altogether unreasonable, for experts in technique to regard as evidence of ignorance and prejudice any questioning of their claims by specialists in subject matter, experts in technique now generally admit, presumably without prejudice, that there are areas in the social studies which objective testing has not yet conquered. What those areas are has already been indicated in the quotation from Howard R. Anderson. Whether, within occupied areas, objective testing has achieved complete demonstration is still questioned, possibly with prejudice, by specialists in subject matter, and to some extent by experts in technique. Enough has, however, been achieved to make it conceivable that the constantly increasing ingenuity of experts may in time break down barriers which specialists in subject matter now regard as insuperable. In the meantime, teachers of the social studies may with assurance proceed on the assumption that no single type of testing can adequately measure pupil achievement or furnish data sufficient to impart certainty to diagnosis, to say nothing of prognosis. Oral questioning, oral and written class reports, term papers, formal examinations of new-type patterns, formal examinations of the essay type, observed behavior of pupils in and out of school — all have their place in a balanced program of testing, and all of them together leave a margin of intangibles which to an All-Wise Eye may be more significant than the tested results. Mun-

¹ McCall, William A., *Measurement*, New York, 1939, p. vii.

dane wisdom very properly demands definite objectives. "To the extent," Frank M. McMurry used to say, "that any goal of education is intangible, it is worthless."¹ But in the social studies intangibles have a confusing way of clustering about the most tangible of educational goals.

There are of course special phases of pupil achievement which can be adequately tested, as, for example, the ability to read and write, the ability to add, subtract, multiply, and divide, the ability to find the subject of a sentence. In general, any achievement in processes and skills can be adequately tested. Associated with all special phases of pupil achievement, and yet sufficiently separable to be regarded as itself a special phase, is "mere information." This designation may suggest only something worse than useless or at best unimportant, and items of the sort condemned by M. W. Keatinge deserve the implication. But any kind of information which is directly supplied by books in class use or by teachers or by class discussion and admits in consequence of direct reproduction from memory may be "mere information." Tests of "mere information" are memory tests. The "mere" is in the memoriter learning and not in the information.

In the testing of "mere information" the new-type examination has such obvious advantages over the essay type that the latter may properly be discarded as obsolete. The new-type examination can, in a given time, cover a much wider range of information. The answers are definite. The pupil is spared the weariness of much writing. The papers can be quickly read and graded with complete assurance of objectivity. But too much may easily be taken for granted. In the first place, such sampling of information as even a new-type examination can provide is necessarily limited and at best an imperfect index of any field as a whole. In the second place, the examination may call for things which the pupil who knows least about the subject as a whole happens to remember and the pupil who knows most about the subject as a whole happens to have forgotten. The range of a pupil's information may thus be either narrower or broader than is indicated by examination results. In the third place, pupils

¹ Quoted by Dr. McCall, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

may correctly remember, or correctly guess, answers which they do not understand and thus impair the validity of an examination as a test of the quality of pupil information. Professor Krey's analysis of what is involved in understanding is here pertinent.¹

Much, if not most, of the criticism passed upon history examinations has been directed at their testing of "mere information," notably so in the case of history examinations sponsored by agencies outside of the school. If, as so often alleged, history examinations have in fact been little more than tests of "mere information," tests, that is, of memoriter learning, such results as those reported by the College Entrance Examination Board suggest either that memoriter learning has been sadly incomplete or that the sampling or grading of memoriter learning by examiners has been sadly unrepresentative and unfair. In comparison with the results of examinations in other subjects, the casualties in history have been startling. The following table tells the melancholy story for a period of ten years.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS DURING DECADE 1910-1919²

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF ANSWER BOOKS	PERCENTAGE OF BOOKS RATED 60-100
Greek	8,048	66.1
French	31,602	61.9
Latin	71,496	58.1
Physics	11,079	54.9
Chemistry	6,441	52.1
Mathematics	78,232	51.1
German	23,207	49.7
English	44,136	45.2
History	28,536	35.9
All subjects	307,865	52.3

The mortality in history began to be noted as soon as the Board began to publish results, and considerable criticism was exchanged between teachers and examiners before 1910. After

¹ Kelley, Truman L., and Krey, August Charles, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences*, New York, 1934, pp. 5-49.

² *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901-1925*, New York, 1926, p. 167.

1910 the discussion widened. In November, 1913, the *History Teacher's Magazine*, summing up the situation editorially, found that from 1902 to 1909 there had been a progressive decline in all subjects in the percentage of papers marked 60 or above 60. In 1902 the percentage for history was 59.2; in 1909 it was 39.6. After 1909 the percentage for other subjects rose but the percentage for history continued to fall. Various explanations were offered. "The most common remark," said the *History Teacher's Magazine*, "is that history candidates try the history examinations after a process of cramming, or at the close of a short review course and without regular instruction in the subject." That more candidates of this type presented themselves in history than in any other subject was conceded, but, so far as the Board had information, the difference between the average for such candidates and the average for candidates with better preparation was too slight to justify the implication that it was the irregularly prepared candidate who brought down the general average so far below other major subjects. Disputing neither the standards set by the examinations nor the standards of marking set by the readers of papers, the editor placed the blame for the results in history squarely on teachers and school administrators. The same issue of the *Magazine* carried an article by Edgar Dawson on "Mortality in History Examinations and its Causes." Dr. Dawson found that the time allowed for history was insufficient and that outside of the best schools teachers of the subject had not been adequately trained. For these conditions the blame was placed on school administrators. "They do not know," said Dr. Dawson, "that a man cannot teach history without having studied it." Dr. Dawson pointed out difficulties "inherent in the subject itself," but his analysis of the examination in "American History and Civil Government" set by the Board for 1913 suggested no great difficulty. While not so noted by Dr. Dawson, the questions were in fact such as might have been answered directly from a good textbook, and the same comment applies to the other history examinations set by the Board for 1913. Such examinations certainly did not discourage the idea that history was a subject which, with a little coaching by experts

in guessing where the lightning would strike, could be "read up" in a short time.¹

That school instruction in history should leave behind a fund of definite information was denied by no sensible teacher in 1913 and is denied by no sensible teacher now. But, as already remarked, no brief written examination can fairly represent the subject or furnish conclusive evidence either of the range or the quality of a pupil's information. A test of "mere information" is, moreover, in the main a test of a temporary possession. Cyrus Northrop, soon after his inauguration as President of the University of Minnesota, told an assembly of students in the presence of the faculty that probably not a single member of the faculty could pass the examinations for entrance to that university. College and university professors lecturing year after year on the same subjects in history have been known to refresh their memories before each lecture, and sometimes the refreshment has been observed by students to be insufficient. Writers of textbooks in history have been known to forget a few months after publication much of what they had put into their own textbooks. The writer who proposed to include in the next edition of his textbook only what he himself remembered realized at least a certain unfairness in expecting high school boys and girls to remember what a university professor had forgotten. Even teachers of history in school using year after year the same textbook have been known to study year after year every lesson and to take the additional precaution of keeping the textbook conveniently open before them in class. An Illinois judge of the last century asked a candidate for the bar: "Have you memorized the statutes of Illinois?" "I have not," replied the candidate. "That is right," said the judge, "only a monster could memorize the statutes and only a fool would try." Those who were at the time memorizing whole textbooks in history may have been neither monsters nor fools, but, whatever they were, the species appears now to be practically extinct.

¹ The examination questions for 1913 are reproduced in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, November, 1913, pp. 263-264. The editorial discussion and Dr. Dawson's article occupy pp. 256-262. See especially p. 256 and p. 262.

The ability to get up a subject quickly and to hold it clearly for a temporary purpose is not here in question. So much of success in business and professional life depends upon the ability to cram up quickly on facts that something might be said in favor of cultivating the ability in school. Where would a physician be without the ability to cram? Where would a lawyer be? Where would a statesman be? Where would newspaper editors and reporters be? Where would writers of textbooks in history be? Where would teachers of history be? Those who decry cramming for examinations have singularly overlooked the fact that cramming may, after all, be the best defense of examinations designed to test "mere information." It might even be suggested, shocking as it would probably appear, that practice in cramming, long unintentionally encouraged by outside examinations, should be deliberately planned and tested as a legitimate function of historical instruction. Properly regulated as an *occasional exercise*, and made *real* cramming, it might either mend or end the *pseudo* cramming for outside examinations which has had so much to do with building up an evil reputation for all school cramming. It may be observed in passing that there are educational treatises in which cramming is denounced in the face of some internal evidence that the treatises are themselves products of cramming.

Since about 1890 it has been generally agreed in the United States, at least in theory, that history examinations should test something more than memory. In the decade of the nineties "mere facts" were constantly under fire. Large audiences, including teachers, were applauding a popular lecturer on history who went from place to place declaring that "sensible people keep their facts in encyclopedias." There were at the time educators who feared that the tendency in school instruction was to turn children into walking encyclopedias, and it was from this danger that the lecturer was striving to save the country. The danger was probably exaggerated. The lecturer himself was plainly no walking encyclopedia. The history that he carried with him was in large part so bad as to suggest that he should have taken more facts out of storage. In warning against one

kind of danger, he was unconsciously illustrating another kind of danger, a danger that may without exaggeration be said to confront most of the human race — the danger of reasoning from superficial and inaccurate information. But the lecturer had a point. History as individual memory is for most of us a severely limited and somewhat treacherous product, and, when for any purpose we need full and exact information, our usual course, if we are "sensible people," is to "look it up." At the same time, history, in an important sense, is only what individuals remember. What is remembered may be much or little, understood or misunderstood, useful or useless, true to actualities or false. It is, in any event, history as individual memory that is history to the mass of mankind. To minimize memory in history is, therefore, to minimize history.

It is not to memorizing in history that "sensible people" object; it is to such abuses of memorizing as indiscriminate mass memorizing, vague memorizing, inaccurate memorizing, verbal memorizing that begins and ends in uninterpreted or misinterpreted repetition of what the textbook or the teacher said, parrot memorizing. As a partial corrective, it has been proposed that all direct testing of "mere information" should be eliminated from examinations and that such testing should always be indirect. According to this view, the range and quality of pupil information can be sufficiently, and even more adequately, tested by asking questions that involve the use of information. The more general view has been that some direct testing of "mere information" is desirable but that the bulk of a history examination should be devoted to testing the ability of pupils to analyze a situation, to pick out essentials, to make comparisons, to draw inferences, and to grasp relations, including, as of special significance, the relation of past things to present things. Such in general was the view with which the College Entrance Examination Board started. But, in adjusting history examinations to prevailing conditions of instruction, it has proved almost impossible to frame questions which have not been anticipated and directly answered in the course of instruction. Questions which on their face seem to call for much more than "mere informa-

tion" may therefore, after all, for pupils who remember, be only tests of memoriter learning.

The difficulty thus suggested has confronted all outside agencies charged with the duty of preparing history examinations. Teachers who prepare their own examinations for classes under their instruction have been in a better position to cope with the difficulty, and some of them have to a large extent overcome the difficulty. Both outside and inside of schools, efforts to make the history examination something more than a test of memory have been persistent and general, and recent improvement has certainly increased the amount of the something more. The actual gain has, however, probably been overestimated, especially in claims for new-type examinations. So long as history for schools remains essentially a body of information to be learned and recited, the history examination is likely to remain essentially a test of memoriter learning. Teachers called upon to prepare pupils for outside examinations, and judged by the results, will continue to shape their instruction with reference to examinations and will continue to explain failures by blaming the examiners or the readers of the papers. Examiners will continue to adjust their questions to prevailing conditions of instruction, readers of papers will continue to insist that their marks are fair and even lenient, and both examiners and readers will continue to explain low marks by blaming teachers and administrators. The social studies movement, it is scarcely necessary to remark, has not simplified the situation.

That American pupils should know more about history as a body of information than most of them appear to know at examination time may be readily granted. But should they know even what they appear to know, regardless of how soon after examination time they forget it? Evanescence learning for an evanescent purpose needs no defense. The purpose may, however, need much defense. If, for example, the purpose to be served is merely the examination itself, critics may question the sufficiency of the purpose. But apart from any immediate purpose that may have been served, is it a real compliment to a person to say of him that he has forgotten more than his col-

leagues ever knew? Is it really better to have known and forgotten than never to have known at all? When knowledge goes, does wisdom really linger? Is the mind in any way improved by evanescent learning?

Fifty years ago a distinguished clergyman, sermonizing on the last of these questions, found an answer in the story of the Arab boy who was sent by his father to bring water in a basket. The boy filled the basket but when he returned to his father the basket was empty. "Try again," said the father. Many times the boy returned, always with the basket empty. "Father," he exclaimed at last in despair, "I can't make any water stay in the basket." "True," said the father, "but see how clear and clean you have made the basket." The moral drawn by the distinguished clergyman may without violence to his actual words be phrased as follows: Even if your mind is the perfect sieve that many people have confessed their minds to be, and all of your school learning has filtered through and disappeared, you are still a living witness to the effect upon the sieve. While faith in the burnishing effect of evanescent learning has suffered heavily in attacks upon the doctrine of formal discipline, there is still much, even in the functional approach to forgetting, that seems difficult to justify on any ground except some possible effect upon the sieve.

Information, it is obvious, can function only so long as it is retained. How long it should be retained depends upon the nature of the information and the purpose for which it is learned. There is ground for believing that history as individual memory should carry while life lasts the great outstanding facts in the development of humanity. What those facts are it is the duty of writers of textbooks to discover and the duty of examiners to test. More of those facts would be permanently remembered if, instead of teaching a *little* about *many* things, we could resolutely set ourselves to teaching *much* about a *few* things. There would then be a better opportunity for making history the effective instrument of training that trained teachers want it to be. Outside examiners might lead the way by so defining their requirement of "mere information" as to remove the present

anxiety of teachers to "get up everything," and thus make it safe to devote the bulk of the examination to tests of the ability to *do*: — to interpret a map or picture; to analyze a paragraph or a page of history; to find materials on a given topic; to solve by use of given materials a simple problem in criticism; to recognize in given facts differing degrees of probability; to judge from a given description some historical character; to discover in given conditions, past and present, resemblances, differences, relations, tendencies; to use given past facts in explaining given present facts; to organize a given collection of facts; to select from the work of a term or a year facts of special importance and to explain why they are important. One thing should be singled out for special emphasis. It is a fundamental and unique characteristic of historical facts that they cannot be thought of historically without an active exercise of the historical sense. If that sense is lacking, the adjective "historical" might as well be removed from facts, for they are then simply facts like other facts and comparisons between past and present will in no way be differentiated from comparison between things in the present. The historical sense is difficult to cultivate and difficult to test, but the chief obstacle is insufficient recognition of its importance.

Many kinds of doing and many ways of exercising the historical sense have been suggested in the body of the present volume. As examples of how they may figure in examinations, the following exercises are offered.

MAP INTERPRETATION

Place before a class the physical map found in Shepherd's *Historical Atlas*, pp. 2-3, or some other map of the same type, and give the following directions:

1. Estimate from the map the height above sea level of the central plain of England. Compare with the height of some object with which you are familiar.
2. Estimate from the map the distance from the mouth of the Seine to the Pyrenees Mountains. Compare with some distance which you have actually traveled.

3. Estimate from the map the area in square miles of the Iberian Peninsula. Compare with the area of some region which you can really see when you close your eyes and think about it.

COMPARISON AND APPRECIATION INVOLVING THE HISTORICAL SENSE

"In the same winter," says Thucydides, writing of the Peloponnesian War, "the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war." Pericles was chosen as the orator. In the address attributed to him by Thucydides he exhibits some reluctance to speak.

"For myself," he says, "I should have thought that the worth which had displayed itself in deeds would have been sufficiently rewarded by honours also shown by deeds; such as you now see in this funeral prepared at the people's cost. And I could have wished that the reputation of many brave men were not to be imperilled in the mouth of a single individual, to stand or fall according as he spoke well or ill. . . . However, since our ancestors have stamped this custom with their approval, it becomes my duty to obey the law and to try to satisfy your several wishes and opinions as best I may."

After describing the greatness and glory of Athens and the sacrifice of those who had fallen in her cause, he continues:

"So died these men as became Athenians. You, their survivors, must determine to have as unfaltering a resolution in the field, though you may pray that it may have a happier issue. And not contented with a mere hearsay notion of the advantages which are involved in the defence of your country, though these would furnish a valuable text to a speaker even before an audience so alive to them as the present, you must yourselves realise the power of Athens, and feed your eyes upon her from day to day, till love of her fills your hearts; and then when all her greatness shall break upon you, you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honour in action that men were enabled to acquire it, and that no personal failure in an enterprise could make them consent to deprive their country of their valour, but they laid it at her feet as the most glorious contribution that they could offer. For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein

their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.”¹

Lincoln in his world-famed address at Gettysburg in 1863 said:

“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

1. Find the differences and resemblances in the sentiments expressed and the kind of appeal made to the audience in these two speeches.
2. Is there any sentiment expressed by Pericles which would not have been suitable at Gettysburg? If so, indicate what it is.
3. Is there any sentiment expressed by Lincoln which would not have been suitable at Athens? If so, indicate what it is.
4. What comment is suggested by your answers to 2 and 3?

¹ Thucydides, II, 35-44, Crawley's translation.

THE DETERMINATION OF FACTS

In 1822, John Adams, in a letter to Timothy Pickering, gave an account of the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. The letter is printed in Randall's *Life of Thomas Jefferson* as follows:

"The Committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to make the draft, I suppose because we were the two first on the list. The sub-committee met. Jefferson proposed to me to make the draft. I said, 'I will not.' 'You should do it.' 'Oh! no.' 'Why will you not? You ought to do it.' 'I will not.' 'Why?' 'Reasons enough.' 'What can be your reasons?' 'Reason first — You are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second — I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third — You can write ten times better than I can.' 'Well,' said Jefferson, 'if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.' 'Very well. When you have drawn it up, we will have a meeting.' A meeting we accordingly had, and conned the paper over. [After stating what he really liked and disliked in it, Mr. Adams proceeds:] I consented to report it, and *do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration.* We reported it to the Committee of five. It was read, and I *do not remember that Franklin nor Sherman criticised anything.* We were all in haste. Congress was impatient, and the instrument was reported, as I believe, *in Jefferson's handwriting, as he first drew it.*"

"This statement," says Randall, "was published in 1823, and Jefferson soon after (August 30th) wrote Mr. Madison:

"... Mr. Adams's memory has led him into unquestionable error. At the age of eighty-eight, and forty-seven years after the transactions of Independence, this is not wonderful. *Nor should I, at the age of eighty, on the small advantage of that difference only, venture to oppose my memory to his, were it not supported by written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot.*" [After giving the substance of Mr. Adams's statement, he continues:] 'Now these details are quite incorrect. The Committee of five met; no such thing as a sub-committee was proposed, but they unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draft. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the Committee, I communicated it *separately* to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their corrections, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit, before presenting it to the Committee: and you have seen the

original paper now in my hands, *with the corrections of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams interlined in their own handwritings.* Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the Committee, and from them, unaltered, to Congress. This personal communication and consultation with Mr. Adams, he has misremembered into the actings of a sub-committee.'"

The "notes" to which Jefferson refers contain the following statements:

"The Committee were John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston and myself. . . . *The Committee for drawing the Declaration of Independence desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House on Friday, the 28th of June, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.*"¹

1. What facts do you consider established by these two letters and Jefferson's notes?
2. Give your reasons.

THE RECOGNITION OF DEGREES OF PROBABILITY

The following statements relate to the Webster-Hayne debate:

1. "Desiring to know how the country would receive the bare doctrine of nullification, Senator Hayne was put forward to deliver the prologue, but Calhoun was the prompter behind the scenes."
2. "Hayne asserted that, in case of a palpable violation of the Constitution by the general government, a State may interpose its veto."
3. "The Senator's speeches were not remarkable, and would never have been remembered, had not his most labored effort given Webster the occasion for one of those rare bursts of eloquence that astonish and delight the world."
4. "Webster's oration itself is familiar to students of American history, to lovers of English literature, and to all those whose admiration is kindled by eloquence in any tongues."

(A) Indicate the kinds of sources that you would use in determining the truth or falsity of each of the above statements.

(B) Which of the statements admits most readily of proof or disproof? Why?

(C) Which of the statements do you consider the most difficult to prove or disprove? Why?

¹ Randall, Henry Stephens, *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, New York, 1858, 3 Volumes, I, 165-166.

SELECTION OF MATERIAL

Two or three weeks before the examination, assign to the class eight or ten general topics covering the significant parts of the work of the term or the year. Give the following directions:

1. Write out for each topic one question that seems to you of special importance.

2. Be prepared to answer definitely your own questions.

In the examination period, inform the class that the questions which they have framed are to count as one question in the examination, and that as another part of the examination they are to answer any two of their own questions.

Or assign a smaller number of topics and have the questions prepared in the examination period. The following may, for example, constitute part of an examination in English history.

1. Prepare on each of the following topics one question that seems to you of special importance: England under the Normans; the personal monarchy of the early Stuarts; the foundation of the British Empire, 1689-1763; the period of reform, 1815-1852.

2. Enter all the questions in your paper.

3. Answer any two of your own questions.

Examination along the lines here indicated is of course unfair to pupils accustomed merely to learn and to recite facts. The teacher may in such cases predict with confidence that the results will approximate zero. High school classes fairly proficient in pointing at maps, and in filling in dots and lines to indicate places and boundaries, have repeatedly answered with a blank stare when asked to estimate, from a map, elevation, extent, or area. Students still more advanced have repeatedly handed in blank papers when asked to use a little discrimination in weighing the probability of facts. But the principles have been found applicable as early as the sixth grade in testing classes trained to interpret maps and to think a little about the difference between proving a motive and proving what was said in a speech. Exercises of all the types that have been illustrated, and of all the other types suggested above in enumerating possibilities, can be adapted even to the elementary school. It requires, to be sure,

something more than a knowledge of textbooks to frame them. It takes more time for a pupil to work them out than to answer memory questions. But, for teachers who think such exercises desirable, there are so many opportunities in connection with the daily lessons to try the general processes that the problem is half solved by the mere act of consciously facing it.

For those who must prepare for examinations from without, given by state, or college, or other authorities, the problem is more difficult. Few of the facts packed into the traditional textbook seem to be exempt from such examinations, and the only safe procedure may well seem to be to pack all of the textbook facts into the minds of the pupils. But even granting this dreary necessity, it is still possible to meet the conditions without forgetting altogether that history should be an instrument of training and of culture. Indeed, the best guarantee of that temporary memory of facts which examiners so generally seem to expect is to teach at least some of the facts intelligently. At the worst, the teacher can teach history six or seven of the nine or ten months of the school year and devote the remaining months to a conscientious cram for the examination. The cram, while not an ideal mode of "getting up" history, has uses beyond the passing of examinations. It is in any event better to reduce history to a grind for a few months than to keep it a grind throughout the year.

Teachers must prepare for examinations; examiners must adapt their questions to existing systems of teaching. Better teaching will be followed by better examinations; better examinations will be followed by better teaching. But who shall break the vicious circle? Teachers blame examiners, examiners blame teachers, and both blame the situation. This to some extent relieves the emotions; it does not relieve the situation. There is need on both sides of more courage and more faith. Competent teachers, who find that they can teach history and still prepare for examinations, have a right to demand of examiners questions designed to furnish a more adequate test of sound instruction. Examiners have a right to assume sound instruction. Incompetent teachers have a right to adjust themselves to the standards of sound instruction or to seek more congenial occupation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The general bibliography which follows is in large part a guide to fuller bibliographies. Titles listed in standard and easily accessible works, such as *A Guide to Historical Literature*, published by the Macmillan Company, are, therefore, not repeated, but are supplemented by selected titles not included in such works. Where no comment is added, it is to be understood that the reason for inclusion is the representative character of an item. The aim has been, through as few titles as possible, to give fair representation to all the points of view which the literature reveals. The same principle of selection has determined the chapter references. The arrangement of the items is, for the most part, chronological, so that a reader disposed to follow the literature may meet discoveries and rediscoveries in the order in which they appeared.

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MODELS

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Models of Greek and Roman coins, 56 pieces. \$18. K. F. Koehler.

Groups of Rausch models. Can be ordered by group numbers. Any article also sold separately.

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Greek house. \$1. Descriptive text, 25 cents.

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Costumes of the Greeks and Romans, 5 pictures, each \$1. Descriptive text, 40 cents.

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Cloister, 10th century.

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Interior of castle, 13th century.

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*CHAPTERS VIII AND IX**MAKING THE PAST REAL AND THE USE OF
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*CHAPTER XI**THE USE OF MAPS*

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CHAPTER XII

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Bibliographie de la France, Journal Général de l'imprimerie et de librairie, Paris.

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- GORMAN, JOHN JEROME, *Report of histories now in use in the public schools of Chicago, prepared by Hon. John J. Gorman, and submitted to his Honor Wm. Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, and J. Lewis Coath, President of the Board of Education, and the honorable members of the Board*, Chicago, 1927, 13 pp.
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CHAPTER XIII

THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES

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HODGKINS, GEORGE WILSON, *A guide to newer methods in teaching social studies*, Bulletin Number 7, National Council for the Social Studies, 1937, 75 pp. Bibliography, pp. 61-75.

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BRUNNER, G., "Das Lehrbuch im Geschichtsunterricht," *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1914, Heft 6, 370-376.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL READING

Adult Study Guide: A Pamphlet Research Service for the Adult Reader, Published eight times a year (\$1 a year), New York University, 20 Washington Square, New York. Founded in October, 1936.

New publications analyzed as they appear and graded as elementary, intermediate, and advanced in readability. Of high value to teachers of the social studies.

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2. Library aids
3. Bibliographies
4. Magazines and News Sheets
5. Readings and Primary Source Materials

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KIMMEL, WILLIAM G., *The management of the reading program in the social studies*, Bulletin Number 4, National Council for the Social Studies, 1929, 110 pp.

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CHAPTER XV

SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

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INDEX

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Acta Sanctorum, 138.
- Activities in making of models and pictures, 200; in Dotheboys' Hall, 200; in Miss Rice's course in history and literature, 200.
- Adams, John, on drafting of Declaration of Independence compared with Jefferson's account, 386, 387.
- Aids, visual, in textbooks, 253; pedagogical, in textbooks, 255; models, 167; pictures, 167-170; albums, 168; motion pictures, 170-172; maps and diagrams, 174-176; verbal description, 176.
- Aims and values, patriotism, 26, 44, 48, 55-58, 70; examples of conduct, 26, 32, 34, 36, 38; a mirror, 26, 30; understanding of the present, 31, 78, 128; citizenship, 33, 51, 117; discipline of memory, judgment, imagination, 51; tracing development, 107; summary of aims, 108; a questioning attitude, 108-112; views of Committee on Social Studies, 113, 114; Commission on Social Studies, 114, 115; Commission of College Entrance Board, 116, 117; controlling aims, 118-126; aims in biography, 134.
- Alaric, 317.
- Anderson, Howard R., on testing, 367; new-type items, with Lindquist, 369.
- Arnold, Thomas, history at Rugby, 48. Associated Press, 333.
- Atwood, W. W., in geography films, 171.
- Austria, 38, 45.
- Bain, Alexander, on history teaching, 43.
- Bancroft, George, writer of Andrew Johnson's first message to Congress, 319.
- Barnes, Mary Sheldon, on culture epoch theory, 95; source method, 303.
- Basedow, J. B., 35, 53, 87, 131; on history teaching, 37-39.
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- Belgium, 57.
- Biedermann, on *Kulturgeschichte*, 148; *Kulturbilder*, 156, 157.
- Biography, as an approach to history, 130-137; dictionaries of, 138; the "new," 138; making biography more historical, 139-142; courses in, 139; critical exercises, 142, 144; the personal element essential, 144.
- Bliss, W. F., application of culture epoch theory, 94.
- Blümner. See Rausch.
- Bodin, on geographic influence, 230.
- Bourdeau, L., on great men, 136.
- Bradford, William, use of, 307.
- Browning, Robert, *Grammarians Funeral*, quotation from, 129; reading for history, 95, 355.
- Bryce, James, on geographic influence, 230; on American self-assertion, 127.
- Buckle, H. T., attempt to make history a science, 13, 14; on exaggerated respect for the past, 112.
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- Byron, Lord, *Isles of Greece* cited, 355.
- Caldwell, H. W. See Fling.
- Campe, J. H., advocate of sagas, 35, 40.
- Carlyle, Thomas, on great men, 135; on common people, 147.
- Cato, on fame, 136.
- Cattell, J. M., educational measurement, 364.
- Cellarius, new division of history, 31.

- Champollion, hieroglyphics, 319.
- Cheyney, E. P., on laws in history, 24.
- Chronology, teaching of, 203-219; nature of time, 203; time sense in children, 101; appeals to time sense, 203-208; memorizing dates, 208, 209, 214-216; criterion of importance, 210-212; degree of definiteness, 212-214; problems in chronology, 218, 219.
- Civics, 64, 114. See Government.
- Cleveland, Grover, letter attributed to, 4.
- Collateral reading, selection and management of, 281-296; obstacles, 282; lack of discrimination, 282-284; exaggerated claims for, 284; making the past real, 285, 286; for information, 286; for interest and inspiration, 286, 287; to give acquaintance with historical literature, 287; to illustrate the historical method, 288; simplified versions, 289; readings to the class, 290; readings by the class, 291; rules for assigning, 292-294; selecting books for a library, 294-296; Macmillan *Guide*, 295, 392.
- College Entrance Examination Board, established, 363; results of examinations, years 1910-1919, 376; Commission of, on history, 80-82, 115-117.
- College entrance requirements, diversities in, 59; influence on high school programs in history, 59; committees on, 59, 80-82.
- Columbus, Christopher, dating voyage of 1492, 101, 218; in elementary versus critical history, 298, 299; Irving, W., on, 300.
- Comenius, J. A., plan for history, 29, 87, 92.
- Commission of American Historical Association on Social Studies, 75-79.
- Commission of the College Entrance Examination Board on History, 80-82, 115-117.
- Commission of the Department of Superintendence on the Social Studies Curriculum, 80.
- Committee of Fifteen, 60.
- Committee of Five, 63.
- Committee of Five, American Political Science Association, 351, 352.
- Committee of Seven, 59, 60.
- Committee on Social Studies, 63-66.
- Committee of Ten. See Madison Conference.
- Committee of Twelve, 61.
- Community, use of, 40, 90, 155, 163-166.
- Concentric circles, 87-89.
- Conrad, Joseph, on test of facts, 18.
- Correlation, history a central subject, 27, 347; history and geography, 30, 33, 39, 347-349; history and government, 349-353; history and literature, 353-358.
- Coulanges, Fustel de, history speaking through, 297.
- Countryman, Gratia, microfilm of *Minneapolis Evening Journal*, 321.
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- Cousin, on great men, 135.
- Cramming, 379.
- Crécy, battle of, 318.
- Croce, Benedetto, subjectivity of history, 22, 110.
- Crothers, S. M., *Genile Reader*, 301.
- Culture epoch theory, as guide in grading history, 92, 93, 95; two interpretations, 93-95; application to history, 92-94.
- Current events, treatment of, 323-345; defined, 323, 324; in newspapers, 327-329; tests of truth in news, 329-331; tests of importance, 341-345; relation to history, 343-345.
- Curriculum specialists, 73.
- Cybulski, historical album, 168; wall pictures, 169.
- D'Alembert, advocate of teaching history backward, 87.
- Dates. See Chronology.
- Dawson, Edgar, *History Inquiry*, 75; on mortality in history examinations, 377.
- Dessau, Basedow school, 38.
- Details, devices for utilizing, 179, 180.
- De Toqueville, on American feeling of superiority, 127.

- Development, idea of, 9, 10; as a controlling aim in history teaching, 119.
- Dewey, John, influence on Committee on Social Studies, 64, 65.
- Dickens, Charles, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 355.
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- Dunning, A. W., Andrew Johnson's first message to Congress written by Bancroft, 319.
- Edison kinetoscope, 170, 171.
- Elson, H. W., *Side Lights on American History*, 289.
- England, *Historia Anglorum* ordered to be read in all schools, 29; Priestley's plan for teaching history and government, 33; Arnold's plan for history, 48; the "subject" system, 57; changes since 1915, 71.
- Examinations, 362-389; college entrance, 362-364; new type, 365-367, 369-375; criticisms of essay type, 367, 368; as memory tests, 379-383; as tests of training, 383-389.
- Excursions, school, 166.
- Facts, historical facts defined, 16-18; types of, 97; principles of selection, 9, 10.
- Farrand, Max, in coöperation between scholars and educators, 75.
- Fascist history for schools, 70.
- Ferrero, G., Roman history adapted to twentieth century needs, 22.
- Films for schools, character of, 197.
- Fisher, G. P., *Outlines of Universal History*, 84.
- Fiske, John, his sources for Norse discovery of America, 312-315.
- Five formal steps of Herbartians, 259-261; of Gaudig, 261; of Morrison, 261.
- Fletcher, C. R. L., denies value of English history for schools, 110.
- Fling, F. M., review of Rickert, 21, note; source method in collaboration with Caldwell, 304.
- Fougères, historical album, 168.
- France, history in schools of Oratorians, 30; Rollin on value of history, 32, 41; history for Émile, 34, 35; Rolland on national and local history, 41; decree of French Convention, 42; objections to history in elementary instruction, 43, 44; Napoleonic *Catechism*, 44; concentric circles, 88; history for girls, 47; scientific history for boys, 55; the role of history as defined in 1934, 70, 71; Pétain revision, 85.
- Frederick the Great, reformer of history teaching, 35, 36; on dates, 213.
- Freeman, E. A., history as past politics, 349.
- Frontier thinkers, 73.
- Froude, J. A., careless description of Adelaide, Australia, 7.
- Fusion, 53, note, 54, 359, 360.
- Galton, Sir Francis, educational measurement, 364.
- Gambrill, J. M., survey of experimental teaching, 75.
- Gaudig, Hugo, formal steps, 261.
- Gedicke, emphasizes national history, 45.
- Gentile, G., on subjectivity of history, 23, 110.
- Geographic influence, 230.
- Geography, historical, 231, 232; correlation with history, 30, 33, 39, 347-349; a place chart, 226.
- Germany, Wimpfeling's textbook, 26; Luther's view of history for schools, 27, 106; Weise, 30; Cellarius, 31; Frederick the Great on history and history teaching, 35, 36; Basedow, 36-39; Trapp, 39, 40; Campe, 40; Salzmann, 40, 90; Riedel, 44; Gedicke, 45; Kohlrausch, 45; emphasis upon Middle Ages, 45; Müller applies scientific conception of history, 53, 106, 107; Harnisch builds a fusion program, 54; Ziller makes history center of concentration, 54, 92, 93; history teaching under German Republic, 67; under Hitler, 68; concentric circles, 88; Haupt's topical arrangement, 91; Nietzsche, *historiis*, 111; biographical approach to history, 132.
- Gibbon, E., *Roman Empire*, 12, 32.
- Girls, history for, 47.
- Gordy and Twitchell, concentric circles, 88.

- Government, Priestley's course, 33; in program of Committee of Seven, 60, 350, 351; Committee of Five of American Historical Association, 352; Committee of Five of American Political Science Association, 351, 352; teaching of in Europe, 350.
- Grading history, problem of, 86-104; concentric circles, 87-89; community approach, 90, 91; topical arrangement, 91, 92; biographical approach, 92; culture epoch theory, 92-95; observed tastes and interests of children, 95, 96; as a problem in presentation, 97-104.
- Green, J. R., visualizing Normandy, 163.
- Grimm, Jacob, deplores separation of history from poetry, 354.
- Guizot, *History of Civilization*, 85.
- Hannibal, 317.
- Harnisch, W., fusion in his *Weltkunde*, 54, 90.
- Hartley, W. H., on social science films, 197.
- Haupt, topical arrangement, 91.
- Hay, John, letter on biography of Lincoln, 142.
- Heeren, history of commerce, 146.
- Hensell models, 167.
- Herodotus, father of history, 11; Rousseau's opinion of, 34; compared with new history, 22; on geographic influence, 230; extracts for critical exercise, 306, 307.
- Hieroglyphics, exercise in, 319, 320.
- Higginson, T. W., *American Explorers*, 307.
- Higher criticism, 6.
- Hinsdale, B. A., quoted by Committee on Social Studies, 63.
- Historic and prehistoric, 3, 4.
- Historical albums, 168.
- Historical criticism, 4-8.
- Historical fiction, 180, 356-358.
- Historical method, compared with method of natural sciences, 15-21; as a controlling aim in history teaching, 118, 119; school training in, 297-322.
- Historiometry, 253.
- History, definitions of, 1, 15; limitations, 3-8; story telling, 9; didactic, 9; scientific, 9, 10, 12-15; subjectivity, 21-23; laws in, 13, 14, 25; economic interpretation, 149; in novels, poems, and dramas, 180.
- Holcombe, A. N., in civics films, 171.
- Horn, Ernest, 249; on grading, 254; on objective testing, 372.
- Hunt, E. M., acknowledgment in preface.
- Indians, in study of social groups, 153.
- Individual instruction, 96.
- Integration of knowledge, 361. See Fusion.
- Irving, W., protest against critical treatment of Columbus, 300.
- Italy, history program, 57; Fascist history for schools, 70; the past an obstruction, 111.
- Jacatot, on correlation, 54.
- Johnson. See Macaulay.
- Johnson, Henry, in history films, 171, 193.
- Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, 187.
- Jones, T. J., chairman of Committee on Social Studies, 63.
- Joshua, memorial stones, 25.
- Juet, with Hudson in discovery of Hudson River, 154.
- Karstädt, O., on too much commanding in Germany, 67.
- Keatinge, M. W., on history examinations, 367, 368.
- Kelley, T. L., defends new type tests, 373.
- Kimmel, W. G., on social studies programs, 72.
- Knowlton, D. C., tests of photoplays, with Tilton, 195; picture-making by pupils, 201.
- Kohlrausch, German history for schools, 45.
- Krey, A. C., acknowledgment in preface; chairman, Commission on Social Studies, 76; a regional program, 83; understanding in the social sciences, 376; cited, 340.
- Kulturgeschichte*, no exact English equivalent, 14; Lamprecht, 14, 149; in eighteenth century, 40; Biedermann's

- argument for, 148; Biedermann's *Kulturbilder*, 156, 157; in European schools after 1860, 84.
- Lamprecht, K., *Kulturgeschichte*, 14, 149.
- Langlois and Seignobos, on facts, 16; criticism of Froude, 7; truth as aim in school history, 55; tabulation for historians, 162; cited, 150.
- Langlois, C. V., opposes union of history and geography, 348.
- Laurie, S. S., application of culture epoch theory, 93, 94.
- Lavisse and Parmentier, historical album, 168; wall pictures, 169.
- Lecky, W. E. H., history in estimating current tendencies, 108.
- Lecture method, 258.
- Lehmann wall pictures, 168.
- Leitfaden*, 241.
- Libraries, principles of selecting books in history, 294-296.
- Lincoln, Gettysburg address for comparison with funeral oration of Pericles, 385.
- Lindquist, E. F., new-type test items, with Anderson, 369.
- Livy, Rousseau's opinion of, 34.
- Longfellow's *Paul Revere's Ride* as history, 355.
- Longman's wall pictures, 169.
- Luther, on history teaching, 26, 106.
- Macaulay, on Johnson's view of history, 297; on truth, 299.
- McCall, W. A., on testing, 370.
- McCulloch, Hugh, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, 144.
- McCulloch, John, textbooks in United States history, 42, 43.
- McMurtry, Charles and Frank, the five formal steps, 260, 261.
- McMurtry, Frank, on intangible goals, 375.
- Mace, W. H., institutional life, 158, 159.
- Maclay, W., *Journal*, 144.
- Madison Conference on History, Government, and Political Economy, 58; use of more than one textbook, 274; the need of reference books for history, 281.
- Mann, Horace, on using different textbooks in same class, 274, 275.
- Maps, use of, 220-240; primary purpose, 220; introducing children to, 221-224; a place chart, 225, 226; estimating extent and area from, 227-229; map projections, 229; making maps real, 230; influence of geographic conditions, 230, 231; historical geography, 231, 232; pupils' reproduction of, 233; critical exercises in historical geography, 234-240; an examination question involving map interpretation, 383.
- Marshall, L. C., social process approach, 159-161.
- Marx, Karl, declared wrong, 73.
- Mather, Cotton, criticism of printers, 5; confessions of criminals, 39.
- Matthews, Josephine, test of motion pictures, 195.
- Memorizing, Frederick the Great on, 35, 213; Basedow on, 38; details for realism not to be memorized, 178; dates, 210, 213, 214-218; location of places, 225; maps, 233; textbooks, 257-259; outlines, 266; parts of collateral reading, 286, 287; for examinations, 369, 370, 375-382.
- Mercator projection, 224, 229, 230.
- Microphotography films, 320, 321.
- Miller, C. R., on propaganda, 324, 337.
- Miller, Joaquin, *Sail On*, 355.
- Models and pictures, enumeration and description of, 166-172; use of, 182-202; exhibition method, 182, 183; conception of size, 184, 185; analysis, 185-188; for aesthetic impressions, 188, 189; portraits, 189; tests of accuracy, 190-192; motion pictures in schools, 193-195; making of models and pictures by pupils, 200-202.
- Möser, social history, 146.
- Motion picture education in theaters, 198-200.
- Müller, K. A., scientific history for schools, 53; on aims and values, 106, 107.
- Museums, 165.
- Mussolini, history teaching under, 70, 122.
- Napoleon, *Catechism*, 44; influence or patriotism in Europe, 45.

- Neander, M., introduced required lessons in history, 29.
- Newspapers, definition of, 327; ideal of *Gazette de France*, 327, 328; Jefferson's opinion of, 328, 329; training in use of, 329-345. See Current events.
- Nietzsche, attitude toward history, 111.
- Nordic race in history, 68.
- Northrop, Cyrus, on college entrance examinations, 378.
- O'Neill, E. H., *History of American Biography*, 143.
- Oral instruction, 257, 260, 261, 269.
- Oratorians, plan for history, 30.
- Pageant of America*, 168, 188.
- Parkman, F., reading of to young pupils, 290; influence of Cooper on, 357.
- Peacock, T. L., praise of Sir Walter Scott in *Clarinda*, 356.
- Peisistratus, 317.
- Pestalozzi, influence on correlation, 53; influence on concentric circles, 87; principles of grading, 90; influence on Haupt, 91.
- Pétain, revision of textbooks under, 85.
- Petrarch, on copyists, 5.
- Pierce, Bessie L., on public opinion and history teaching, 252.
- Place sense in children, 101, 102.
- Plutarch, on great men, 134.
- Pocahontas story, 17, 309, 310.
- Polybius, Rousseau's opinion of, 34.
- Précis*, 241.
- Prehistoric, 3.
- Priestley, J., courses in history and government, 33, 34; charts, 33, 53; tabulation, 157; government a separate subject, 349.
- Propaganda, 324, 336-338.
- Questioning, art of, 275-278.
- Quincy, Josiah, *Figures of the Past*, 144.
- Radio, 172-174.
- Ranke, L. von, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, 12, 14, 22, 23, 53.
- Rausch models, 167.
- Read, Conyers, chairman, Commission of College Entrance Examination Board, 8c.
- Remains, 1.
- Rhodes, J. F., quoted on De Toqueville and Bryce, 127; praises *Lady Baltimore*, 356; statements by used to illustrate degrees of probability, 387.
- Rice, Emily J., school activities in history and literature, 200.
- Rickert, H., on historical method, 21.
- Riedel, on national history, 44.
- Robinson, J. H., on new history, 22; quoted by Committee on Social Studies, 65; cited, 5, 124.
- Rolland, on national and local history, 41.
- Rollin, C., on value of history, 32; neglected the history of France, 41.
- Rousseau, J. J., history for *Emile*, 34, 64, 73, 74, 86, 89, 130, 131.
- Russia, history teaching in, 57, 69.
- Sallust, Rousseau's opinion of, 34; on fame, 136.
- Salzmann, C. G., 35; community approach, 40, 90.
- Saxony, history teaching in, 38.
- Schlosser, world history, 146.
- Scott, Sir Walter, 355, 356, 357.
- Seignobos, Ch., on truth in school history, 55; extract from his *l'Antiquité*, 246, 247. See Langlois and Seignobos.
- Shepherd, W. R., *Atlas*, 234, 383.
- Sleidanus, *Four Monarchies*, 28, 86, 105.
- Smith, B. O., history not necessary in study of current problems, 110.
- Smith, Captain John, Pocahontas story, 17, 309, 310.
- Sources, defined and classified, 1, 2; quantity and distribution, 2-4; need of criticism, 4-6; use in schools, 303, 304; exercises in use of, 305-320.
- Spain, history teaching in, 57.
- Sparks, E. E., *Men Who Made the Nation*, 141, 144.
- Spencer, Herbert, questions value of history, 43.
- Stallings, L., first world war in pictures, 168.
- Stanwood, E., on encounter between Blaine and Conkling, 142.
- Stephens, H. M., on difficulty of realizing the past, 181.
- Stevens, Romiett, on questioning, 275, 277.

- Suetonius, Rousseau's opinion of, 35.
Sweden, history teaching in, 56.
- Tacitus, Rousseau's opinion of, 34.
- Textbooks, early, 25; types of, 241-245; tests of, 248-254; textbook piracy, 250; subjectivity of, 251, 252; use of in Europe, 257, 258, 269, 270; use of in United States, 258-269; assisted lessons, 264-270; training for independent study, 271-273; art of questioning, 275-278.
- Thierry, inspired by Scott, 356.
- Thomas, Allen, textbook in United States history, 84.
- Thorndike, E. L., educational measurement, 364.
- Thucydides, father of didactic history, 11; called greatest of historians, 12; Rousseau's opinion of, 34; extract from, 384, 385.
- Time, nature of, 203.
- Time sense in children, 101; appeals to, 203-208.
- Tompkins, *Philosophy of Teaching*, 159.
- Traditions, 1; prevalence of oral tradition, 326, 327.
- Twitchell. See Gordy and Twitchell.
- United Press, 333.
- United States, history teaching in, colonial period, 42; McCulloch textbooks, 42, 43; early state requirements, 49; Columbus, Ohio, Female Seminary, 49; Columbus High School for Young Ladies, 49; high school in Cleveland, 50; in elementary schools, 50; values claimed, 51; Madison Conference and Committee of Ten, 58; college entrance requirements, 58; Committee of Seven, 59, 60; Committee of Fifteen, 60, 61; Committee of Twelve, 61; Committee of Eight, 61, 62; Committee on Social Studies, 63-66, 72, 113, 114; attacks on textbooks, 71, 72; curriculum specialists, 73; education for a changing world, 73, 74; frontier thinkers, 73; Commission on the Social Studies, 75-79; Commission on Social Studies Curriculum, 80; College Entrance Board Commission on History, 80-82; 115-117; increase of printed programs, 83; changes of twenty-five years, 83-85.
- Valla, Lorenzo, 319.
- Values. See aims and values.
- Vidal-Lablache maps, 228.
- Vives on history teaching, 27, 53, 86, 347.
- Voltaire, history of civilization, 32, 146.
- Wallace, A. R., *The Wonderful Century*, 112.
- Walpole and George II, 175.
- Wars and history teaching, 27, 66, 73.
- Weber, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, 148.
- Webster-Hayne debate, statements relating to illustrating degrees of probability, 387.
- Webster, Noah, stories in geography and history of the United States, 42.
- Weems, Mason L., life of Washington, 18.
- Weise, Christian, *Der Kluge Hoff-Meister*, 30, 84, 86, 87.
- Wesley, E. B., use of expression "social studies," 75.
- Williams, Roger, portrait study, 191.
- Wilson, Howard, on fusion, 359.
- Wimpheling, J., author of the first textbook in German history, 26, 106.
- Winckelmann, ancient art, 146.
- Wister, Owen, *Lady Baltimore* praised by Rhodes, 356.
- Wood and Freeman, tests of motion pictures in schools, 195.
- Ziller, Tuiskon, method of correlation, 54, 92, 347.

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